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SOUTH AND EAST ASIA REPORT

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SOVIET ASSISTANCE TO LAOS DESCRIBED

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 18, Apr 82 p 19

[Article by A. Dukhov: "Soviet-Lao Cooperation"]

[Text] The 3rd Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, which opened on 26 April, called forth a new surge of creative energy from the working people of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. For seven years the people of Laos have been confidently laying the foundations of socialism under the leadership of the communist party, relying on fraternal aid from the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

This is the first time that the PRPL [People's Revolutionary Party of Laos] has held its congress legally, as the ruling party. It has come a long way since 1972, when the preceding second congress was held in the liberated regions of the country, which at that time was fighting imperialist intervention and a neo-colonialist regime. American aggression was repulsed, and the military and political forces of the collaborationist bourgeoisie bureaucrats and reactionary feudal landowners were crushed. The proclamation of the republic in December 1975 marked completion of the national democratic revolution in the country, located in the center of Indochina, and the beginning of the socialist revolution.

In the six years that the republic has existed, the working people of Laos have taken steps toward socialism that are really appreciable today. The first five-year plan of social and economic development of the country was worked out and is being put into effect. Laos is strengthening and developing various links with the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and other fraternal countries.

Reliable Bonds

Soviet-Lao economic cooperation began with specialists from the USSR helping Laos restore the country's economy, which had been devastated by American aggression. State farms were planned and built, animal husbandry and a veterinary service were organized, and the most urgently necessary national economic facilities were constructed. Considerable attention was devoted to training national cadres.

The fruits of Soviet-Lao economic cooperation can be seen everywhere in the LPDR [Lao People's Democratic Republic] today. A number of projects which are important for establishing an independent economy in the country has been built and put into operation with Soviet technical assistance in recent years. Among them are the 100 meter bridge across the Nyon River, a hospital with modern equipment and a clinic that can handle 150 patients a day, a petroleum depot with a capacity of 8,000 cubic meters near Vientiane, and a motor vehicle repair shop. The Lao geological service has been formed and supplied with necessary equipment, and the tin mining enterprise has been restored.

Work is going well on construction of a shop to repair agricultural equipment. Construction work has begun on two bridges across the Nam Ngum and Nam Kading rivers on national highway No 13, which connects the southern and northern parts of the country. A second hospital with 150 beds is under construction, along with a polytechnikum for 600 students to be trained as power industry workers and geologists, a 150-kilowatt radio station, and numerous other projects.

Geological exploration for raw materials for the brick plant and exploration of limestone to provide raw material for the cement plant in Vanvieng Province is practically completed. With Soviet assistance the technical-economic substantiation for construction of a power transmission line from the Nam Ngum hydroelectric power plant to the city of Vanvieng has been worked up and ratified by the client and joint surveying work is being done along the transmission line route. The main consumer of the electricity transmitted on this line will be the planned cement plant, so its construction is being coordinated with the construction schedule of the plant.

In September 1980 the "Protocol on Results of Coordinating the State Plans of the USSR and the LPDR for 1981-1985" was signed. The Protocol establishes measures to resolve economic problems to insure steady development of the Lao economy and outlines specific projects and jobs to be done in Laos with technical and economic assistance from the USSR during the coming five-year plan.

Noting the great importance for the Lao economy of coordinating the state plans of the two countries, Kayson Phomvihane wrote: "We face new goals. They are unprecedented and enormous, but we know that we can achieve them. Our assurance of this is coordination of plans of the USSR and the LPDR for 1981-1985. While working out this coordination, guided by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee of the PRPL, we outlined steps to resolve economic problems to insure steady development of the Lao economy and agreed upon the principal areas of economic cooperation for the next five years and, for certain problems, even further into the future."

New Scale and New Problems

The scale of Soviet-Lao economic cooperation for the current five-year plan is the result of a series of intergovernmental agreements according to which Laos is receiving assistance in construction and work on 45 national economic projects and topics. In the five years Soviet Lao commodity turnover will expand about 3.5 times.

Construction will be completed on public health facilities, a radio station, a shop to repair agricultural equipment, and a state agriculture enterprise. Considerable attention is being devoted to completing construction of facilities to train Lao national cadres: the polytekhnikum, an agricultural tekhnikum, and vocational-technical schools.

The leaders of the party and government of Laos have observed many times that the development of communications and transportation is one of the fundamental problems in the country's economic development. During the current five-year plan Soviet aid will help complete construction of two bridges on highway No 13, which connects the northern and southern provinces of the country. The decision has been made to restore and rebuild highway No 9. This is the road that connects the ports of Vietnam with Laos. It is the main route by which foreign trade cargo can be delivered to the country quickly and shipped out of the country; it is Laos' "window" on the outside world. Surveying and construction work is already underway on the highway. Sets of Soviet road building machinery and Soviet specialists are arriving at the construction site.

Assistance is being given in establishing a state transportation organization, building and equipping central storage depots, and producing building materials. Considering the steadily growing volume of construction work being done by Soviet and Lao specialists at various national economic sites, the question of setting up state construction organizations is being worked out.

Soviet-Lao cooperation on a compensation basis is to be expanded. For example, various Soviet organizations are helping the LPDR set up a logging enterprise, expand the tin mining enterprise, and expand coffee production, including processing. In connection with this the questions of expanding the raw material base for production of tea, tobacco, and medicinal plants with later construction of appropriate processing capacities are under consideration. Realization of these projects would help Laos increase its potential for producing goods that can be exported.

A portentous event in the life of Laos occurred recently: the Lotus-2 ground station of the Intersputnik space communications system went into operation. This station was a gift of the Soviet Union to the Lao people. Now Laos will have reliable telephone and telegraph communications through space, and will also receive television broadcasts from the USSR and other countries of the socialist community. An official meeting was held for the opening of the station, and at it speakers remarked that the help given by the Soviet Union to the peoples of Indochina is a demonstration of international solidarity and an important factor in defending the revolutionary achievements of the peoples of Laos, Vietnam, and Kampuchea.

During the days of the third Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos the Soviet people wish the fraternal Lao people new successes in carrying out their plans of socioeconomic development and strengthening solidarity with the fraternal socialist countries.

BRIEFS

SOVIETS PROVIDE AAA--The USSR is sending "Stenla 7" light anti-aircraft guns to Laos at the Thai border, Khongchiam-Ubolratchathani district. Reports from the Ministry of the Interior disclosed to MATICHON on 28 April state that Mr Suphon Supsorn, Lt Governor of Ubolratchathani Province, has urgently advised the Ministry of movements of Lao People's Army troops, together with Vietnamese troops, in the Champassak district of Laos, just across from Thailand's Khongchiam district. The USSR has sent in Stenla 7 model light anti-aircraft guns, which can be carried from place to place by personnel and have an effective range of about 50 km. They are already in use by troops in the Southern region, but their number is not known definitely. Furthermore, at the beginning of April, about one company of 100 Lao soldiers and 4 Vietnamese soldiers took up positions at Chanasombun in Champassak district and have established permanent bases of operations on the Thai-Lao border at Phurasi and Dorn Klum. It is presumed that these troops are meant to block resistance groups in Laos and to gather information on Thai troop movements. [Text] [Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 29 Apr 82 pp 1-2] 9943

CSO: 4207/95

BRIEFS

OFFER ON ISA DETAINEES CLARIFIED--The Ministry of Home Affairs today clarified the government offer for adoption of persons detained under the Internal Security Act 1960 by foreign countries or organizations. The deputy minister, Mr Kasim Ahmad, stressed that in such cases the offer was subject to several conditions. These include the renouncing of citizenship and mutual agreement between the sponsors and the detainee to the adoption. The minister has made it clear that the offer does not include those prosecuted and convicted in court. He was speaking to newsmen in Kuala Lumpur on the situation regarding the offer for adoption of detainees. [Text] [BK220839 Kuala Lumpur International Service in English 0600 GMT 22 May 82]

CSO: 4220/48

ZIA LAUDS CHINESE COOPERATION, HELP

Karachi DAWN in English 19 May 82 p 1

[Text] Peshawar, May 18--President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq today lauded Chinese cooperation and assistance in the establishment of the Rs 10.40 crore sheet glass factory near Nowshera, and termed it a living symbol of friendship between Pakistan and the People's Republic of China.

Speaking at the inauguration of the factory, the President said that Pakistan and China had a "model" friendship which had established new standards in the international relationship.

He expressed confidence that these ties between the two countries would further expand with the passage of time.

He expressed his appreciation for the warm sentiments of friendship expressed by the Chinese Charge d'Affaires in Pakistan in his address at the function earlier, and said that the people of Pakistan took these sentiments in a positive manner, because those were based on sincerity.

He also lauded the cooperation extended by China in the setting up of the factory and in the installation of the machinery by experts from the great neighbour.

The President hoped that the factory, established by the National Police Foundation, would be run on commercial basis and would play a vital role for the welfare of the retired and serving police personnel and their families.

The President noted with satisfaction that the factory, which was the biggest glass unit in the country, would help save foreign exchange, now spent on the import of sheet glass. It would provide employment opportunities to the people and would thus augur well for the national economy, he said.

The President appreciated the endeavours of the National Police Foundation to ensure welfare of the police personnel and their families, and expressed confidence that it would continue to expand its welfare activities with the passage of time. He described the Foundation's performance as satisfactory.

The President called upon all segments of society to respond to their religious and moral obligations, to build a strong edifice for establishment of an Islamic social order in the country.

He emphasised that responsibility to banish crime from society and to ensure supremacy of law devolved alike on the police and society itself. As a matter of fact, he said, maintenance of peace was the fundamental obligation of a society.

A civilised society could never allow the elements capable of disturbing normalcy to nurture in its midst, he remarked.

The President was, therefore, convinced that so long as society did not respond to its moral obligations, to curb crime and weed out anti-social elements, no one could improve it.

"You must analyse your past and present so as to draw up a role befitting a Muslim nation like Pakistan for the future," he told policemen.

He reminded them that the Pakistani police force had the legacy of high traditions of the Police Department established by Hazrat Umar Farooq. "You have, therefore, certain additional obligations," he said, adding "besides dedication to the maintenance of law and order, protection of life, honour and property of the citizens and functioning in accordance with the Islamic values, you must instill in you the spirit of chivalry, sincerity and devotion to duty."

Earlier, Mr Habibur Rahman Khan, Managing Director of the National Police Foundation, in his welcome address, explained the salient features of the factory and said that the sheet glass unit, which would have a production capacity of 40 tons of glass sheet daily, would provide jobs to about 500 persons, including officers and workers.

He held out an assurance that the retired police personnel would be given preference, on the basis of their merit, for appointment in the factory.--APP

CSO: 4220/19

NEW SECRETARY OF WOMEN'S DIVISION NAMED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 20 May 82 p 12

[Text] Islamabad, May 19--Mrs Salima Ahmed, the country's most senior woman civil servant, has been appointed Secretary, Women's Division.

She will take up her new assignment some time in the middle of June, it was reliably learnt here. Currently, Mrs Salima Ahmed is Finance Director of Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, as well as director of two textile mills, two sugar mills and one woollen mill. She is also director of a steel pipes and gas company.

Salima Raisuddin Ahmed, born in Bangalore, is a first class first in Economics from the Madras University. She entered the Audit and Accounts Service in 1949 and has to her credit over three decades of financial and administrative experience.

In the field of women's activities, she has played a pioneering role in former East Pakistan and in Karachi where she was posted for several years. Architect of a children's library, a working women's hostel and two school buildings in Dacca, Salima as President of the Pakistan chapter of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs of Pakistan is working on the Rs 56-lak Working Women's Hostel in Clifton, Karachi.

Widely travelled, Salima Ahmed has led several delegations of women to international conferences. She is married and is mother of two sons and a daughter.

Mrs Ahmed succeeds Miss Gulzar Bano who went on leave before retirement some months ago.

CSO: 4220/19

SHARP INCREASE IN REMITTANCES FROM ABROAD REPORTED

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 82 p 1

[Article by M. Ziauddin]

[Text] Islamabad, May 20--Despite an expected leap in the current account deficit and a retarded rate of long-term net capital inflows, Pakistan is not likely to round off the current fiscal year with a negative foreign exchange reserve balance.

The situation is reported to have been retrieved, to a large extent, by remittances which reportedly recorded a sharp increase in the wake of the delinking of rupee from dollar in January this year.

The disclosure early this month that some 40 companies handling remittances in the Gulf region on behalf of Pakistani banks have crashed, is however expected to adversely affect the rate of inflow of remittances in the current quarter. Still, the massive surge in the inflow of remittances during the last three months is likely to more than make up the losses expected during the current quarter and the total receipts under the head of private transfers for the year is likely to be in the vicinity of 2,900 million dollars as against 2,400 million dollars last year.

On the other hand the gap between the receipts and payments in the current invisibles, excluding remittances, is expected to expand to about 900 million dollars compared to over 700 million dollars of last year. The increase in the gap is mainly due to the devaluation of the rupee by over 15 per cent.

The trade balance, which was showing a gap of about 2,000 million dollars at the end of the first nine months of the current fiscal year is expected to expand by another 1,000 million dollars by the close of the year.

Thus, the current account deficit for the year 1981-82 is likely to reach 1,000 million dollars as against 940 million dollars of last year.

With respect to long-term capital inflows an amount of about 600 million dollars, excluding the 200 million dollars for Afghan refugees, are expected to come in by the end of the current year.

On the other hand short-term and trade credits, including the second installment from IMF's extended fund facility, are likely to bring in about 400 million dollars. Thus the long- and short-term capital inflows will just about meet the current account deficit of 1,000 million dollars for the year 1981-82.

Probably, mindful of what is in store at the end of the year with respect to foreign exchange balance and also in order to meet its debt servicing obligations in the event Islamabad is not allowed debt rescheduling facility for another year at the expiry of the present agreement of 232 million dollars debt relief for 18 months, Pakistan has obtained a credit of about 225 million dollars from a consortium of commercial banks and is likely to negotiate another credit of 125 million dollars after three months from another consortium of commercial banks.

According to independent economists this is a long way from the promising note on which the current fiscal year was started discussing the projections for 1981-82, the Annual Development Plan documents had claimed: "the balance of payments position for 1981-82 appears to be reasonably manageable....Under the circumstances Pakistan may not have to resort to special aid or the contraction of commercial credits in addition to borrowings needed to roll over the existing loans."

On the other hand an official of Citibank, which withdrew from the consortium of banks that loaned Pakistan 225 million dollars on very soft terms for three years at half per cent over liber, was quoted by a Western newspaper as saying: "There is a feeling in the market that Pakistan has reached a point where risk-reward ratio is no longer attractive enough for us to make funds available.

CSO: 4220/20

ARTICLE ANALYZES POLITICAL SITUATION, RECOMMENDS ELECTED INSTITUTIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16, 17 May 82

[Two-part article by Aitzaz Ahsan: "In Search of Political Order"]

[16 May 82 p 4]

[Text] A widespread debate is underway on the nature of the political system best suited to Pakistan. The controversy proceeds, of course, on the not-too-sound assumption that the Constitution of 1973 lacks all intrinsic merit and does not justify its re-promulgation in an unamended form.

General Mohammad Zia-ul Haq has himself made several disclosures about the proposed political system. In a quick series of statements he has revealed inter alia, that the system will include such departures from the past as non-party elections and the pre-qualification of candidates. He has called these a "must" for the success of the system justifying with the words that "even the pedigree was pre-determined by prospective buyers" so why not pre-qualify the genealogy of candidates.

General Zia has also envisaged the setting of a Command Council comprising of a membership including, besides the President and the Prime Minister, the Service Chiefs and vested with the authority to take decisions on all important matters of State. This, of course, would ensure a permanent role for the Armed Forces in the administration of the country akin to the so-called Turkish pattern. Now, however, he has gone one step ahead with the statement that the restoration of the democratic system cannot precede a drastic cut-down in the number of political parties from seventy-eight to two.

At this point it is not necessary to go into the motives of the proposed measures. These may ostensibly be the most altruistic. What must concern us, however, is that any such legislation is, per se, going to involve drastic amendments in the very fundamentals of the 1973 Constitution. We must examine the need and necessity for such proposals as well their impact, if any, on the body-politic and the legal system.

It so happens that in any such examination we can benefit from our own past record. This country has previously seen two "staff solutions". Both were in all material particulars, to the same effect and purpose. The first was rejected by a popular upsurge. The other was aborted in fairly advanced stage of conception.

The Constitution of 1962 was the self-tailored brainchild of one man. It ensured a concentration of power in his person and his executive secretariat. It purported to reflect, in an arrogance all its own, a broad popular consensus treating the populace with the condescension of the authoritarian brass hat giving the "irresponsible rabble" no direct participation in the process of the formation of governments and their policies. The indirect method of voting embodied in the Basic Democracies' system, was a clear measure of the disdain with which the elite looks upon the ordinary citizen not considering fit to exercise a direct personal option in the electoral process.

Then came the staff solution that Yahya Khan all but promulgated in the last hours of his

regime. For the sake of posterity two most vital provisions thereof were reproduced by the Supreme Court in its judgment in the *Asma Jilani* case of 1972.

ARTICLE 16 of the draft Constitution provided for the first President under the Constitution. He was also to continue as the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army. And, of course, all doubts were repelled by the Constitution itself incorporating the name of its nominated incumbent (who else, but) Agha Mohammad Yahya-

Yahya Khan, H.Pak., H.J. ARTICLE 260 of the draft then proceeded to vest, in the creator of the Constitution himself, the authority to suspend his own supreme law. It gave to the Commander-in-Chief the power to declare Martial Law which could then be revoked only by himself. How simple. While the Constitution, by its very terms, was not only to be supreme, but also the very source of all authority, the fountainhead of the all powers of each and every institution and office in the body-politic, yet the Commander was to remain

"More Supreme". This would have been a peculiar and obviously impractical dissection of sovereign power, reminiscent of the Orwellian tragicomic equation of "all men are equal but some men are more equal than others".

It is, fortunately, inherent in the nature of super-imposed staff solutions that they are met with the invariable disapproval and rejection of the final arbiters of legitimacy, the broad masses. Attempts to put popular aspirations in pre-conceived and individualised

strait-jackets have always failed. Little wonder that having seen the fate of the two staff solutions, Justice Yaqub Ali concluded in the Supreme Court in 1972 that "the will of a single man, howsoever laudable or sordid, is a behest of a command, but is certainly not law as understood in the juristic sense." (Asma Jilani Case.).

Despite the unambiguous lessons recorded in history books, in bold print, men unfortunately continue to skip their pages. Thus does history, as they say, repeat itself. The greater and more irreparable tragedies, the more indelible set backs, however, befall a nation when a power-elite equipped with the "requisite physical means" to impose its will, with brute force if necessary, chooses to do so.

Our past experience testifies that all too often popular consensus is assumed to be identical with individual predilections. "I am the pulse and the mind of the people. Follow me, and I will deliver thee to liberty". This is the most prevalent attitude among an elite who have, indeed, no means left of feeling the pulse of the times. They only deliberate and pronounce upon reports, fed them "through proper channels" marked "urgent" and "For his eyes only". Soon the forbidding turret atop the dizzying height of the ivory tower completely and irredeemably encapsules its occupant leaving him no contact with the world below except his own subjective impressions. And self-righteous authoritarianism is the inevitable product of such subjective value judgments.

The precedents of the past three decades prove to us the sheer risk involved in any such attitude. A narrow but moralistic and self-righteous elite has struck again and again at the very vitals of the body-politic. From the dissolution of the First Constituent Assembly to the December of 1971 in Dacca, this has been, perhaps, the greatest single affliction upon this country. What irony that this country should itself have been the product of a broad national consensus manifested in none other but the electoral process in 1946! The free will that created Pakistan is not trusted with the ability to administer, safeguard and preserve it. Respect and gratitude

for the popular expression of the 1946 elections, that giant wave of an energetic and widespread storm, can only be manifested by giving free play to the very democratic and constitutional spirit that gave birth to Pakistan and was its *raison d'être*. Ever so often we have ourselves denied, by our actions, the validity of the impelling force that projected us into the orbit of nationhood. How often in the past have personal fears and prejudices, highlighted by a selective process of reasoning, not been marketed as popularly accepted propositions. Logic has been strained and distorted to this end, but, then, who has the need for any logic.

Pakistan's tragedies can be attributed entirely to the machinations undertaken by the small interest-groups for the sole and narrow purpose of their self-perpetuation. Wielding authority and influence far beyond their true measure, they have continued to project and portray their own phobias in holy shibboleths synonymous with the security of the country and the integrity of the Federation. It is in purported pursuance of such high-sounding goals that a succession of constitutions (those of 1956 and 1962) were abrogated. And it is as a result of this imperious disdain for the fundamental norm (the Grundnorm - the Constitution) that the process of disintegration set in, in the first two decades of our history. Who, indeed, can deny that the seeds of the erosion of the East-West (Pakistan) compact lay, inter alia, in the proclamation of Martial Law in 1958.

The mischief that has beleaguered Pakistan in the past cannot, in fact, be adequately understood except in this sole context and perspective. Whenever the vital exercise of obtaining popular consensus on national issues; or on the formation of the governments, through recognised democratic processes, (i.e. elections), has been delayed or obstructed, or whenever the result of the exercise has purportedly been distorted, irreparable harm has befallen both the country and its rulers. The very cancer that has plagued this nation is the repeated obstruction or distortion of the process of determining the will of the

people.

In rejecting the argument permitting fundamental changes in the Constitution of 1973, Mr. Ali Mohammad (The Muslim, 25 and 27 April) has made a perceptive observation that: "A well-knit group of people enjoying absolute power and commanding the requisite physical means can always impose upon a nation a political system of its choice. Carried away by its fervour, it may even come to genuinely feel that its prescription is ideal for the good

health of the community. Invariably such a group is inclined to tailor a structure which will also ensure its own perpetuation on the ostensibly altruistic ground that it alone is qualified to mother its off-spring and make it sturdy."

This is indeed the syndrome of the self-righteous. And it flows, as we have so often seen, directly out of the immediate and present-day brute and unbridled capability to do both good and harm. It is the natural product of a complex of factors including unfettered power, absolute authority, and a praetorian insularity from the broad masses. It occurs whenever every recognized means to obtain and benefit from periodic graphs of the peoples' consensus have been put to perpetual disuse. It is in such circumstances that the assumption of a self-styled role of the sole arbiter of popular aspirations becomes inevitable. Many of our present-day misfortunes are the direct legacy of the assumption of authoritarian powers by the Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad so unambiguously portrayed in the dissolution of Pakistan's Constituent Assembly. Ayub betrayed himself in the very Preamble of his (truly "his") Constitution when he pontificated: "I, Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan, Hilali-Jura't do hereby enact this Constitution."

The ill-fated army action unleashed by Yahya Khan on East Pakistan in a frenzied attempt to smother the popular will of the Awami League was also a martial manifestation of the "I-know-best" syndrome.

It is naive, of course, to assume that popular aspirations can best be interpreted by any non representative, exclusive and isolated elite completely insulated from popular contact and exposure.

It is equally naive to believe that the body-politic can be treated as a Victorian child, to be chastised whenever it is deemed to have gone wrong. If we in West Pakistan had not been so self-righteous and "holier-than-thou" in the past, East Pakistan may never have become Bangla Desh.

One point that Yahya's obstruction of the popular will indubitably establishes is that the democratic process is the only defusing process. If the forum of popular judgement is not denied, political activity does not assume the dreadful proportions of unabated hatred and despise. Do not deny free political and democratic rights to the people, and they may not take their grievances to the streets. In what bold relief does the Iranian Revolution testify to this. It also establishes the invariable application of the principle that the greater the degree of repression, the greater the intensity of the ultimate fight-back. According to the infallible law, after all, reaction has not only to be opposite but also and, at least, equal.

The point is that in Pakistan there is, and has been, a tragic imbalance of power structures. This is a colonial heritage. On the one hand the bureaucratic

machine is well-knit and organized. Its cadres, the chains of command, the tiers of authority and competence, are easily discernible. There is security and safety in abject subservience and the tenure of the unimaginative conformist is likely to last the longest. There is, thus, a premium on the perpetuation of the "status quo". For if one's career is to be secured from the grade of the raw Assistant Commissioner to the Chief Secretary in the twenty five years in service (with more to hope for), one must chip in with the forces seeking to resist change (normally in the garb of the oft-pronounced "stability"). When such attitudes are translated into statistics of national growth and social progress they simply spell S-T-A-G-N-A-N-T-I-S-M.

Development policies are either discarded or neglected. In any event they are not what they are made to appear on paper-graphs and tables. Moreover the elite has neither the will, nor the means or capacity to mobilize, and thus cannot employ, the energies of the broad masses along any development route.

By comparison, the processes of democracy imply all that which is anathema to a narrow elite encapsuled in the ivory towers of an administrative Secretariat.

[17 May 82 p 4]

[Text]

First the democratic process is a process of exposure and accountability. By its very essential dynamics it is a process of volition, of change, of mobilisation. There may, of course, be times and interludes when it can appear to have set about negative forces. But these are, in any event, derogative of none but the elite who are thus democracy's most vociferous opponents. Even the impression that some people are particularly keen to portray, that democracy is, in our context, a retrogressive movement cannot hold, if democracy is allowed to take full root and to flower in an uninterrupted continuum.

By its nature the democratic process is a continuing process. It

permits no short-cuts or tailor-made solutions. You can neither disqualify the voter, nor pre-qualify candidates if its very essence is not to be vitiated. Nor can one experiment tell adversely upon the entire system.

It must be allowed to take bud and flower. Who will be impatient enough to hack down a fruit sapling merely because it bears no fruit in its first season. Thus, too, with the democratic process. You can judge its gifts and blessings only, and only if you permit its free and uninterrupted flow through series of free elections. Any other judgment can be nothing but both premature and tragic, and is bound to be based upon the subjective value-scales of the interest group presently equipped with the authority to take, and enforce, its decisions.

The great advantage of the democratic process is that it is not confined to particularised interest-

groups who are likely to dictate and perpetrate their own subjective value-judgements. Its forum is the body-politic as a whole. In the democratic process the counter-forces if any, are proportionately counter-balanced and evened out. In a continuum the anti-people forces are pushed out of the mainstream and reduced to ineffective proportions. The people may, no doubt, commit a mistake or two, but their sense of participation, and the realisation of their own power to sit in effective judgment, gives them that greater stake and interest in the proper and just disposition of the administrative authority of their representatives.

It is for this primary reason that the democratic process admits of no solutions that have been pre-programmed by the elite. Any attempt to pre-determine the choice of the people must, per se, vitiate the spirit of the electoral process.

The democratic process is also the only harmonising and cementing political process. If the will of all persons, having been manifested within the polity, is absorbed in the larger, over-all matrix, ethnic or cultural sub-nationalities will not engage in centrifugal pulls. It is only when they are not so accommodated that they would rather tear the fabric apart. We have to learn from the effects upon the Bengali psyche of West Pakistan's martial dominance. We may well be repeating our past mistakes yet again.

Finally, being in essence based upon the consensus of the citizenry, the democratic process compels governments to look within, and not without. The requisites being the confidence of the people themselves, it infuses a self-confidence that is so necessary for vigorous nations and their governments. It thus becomes the very foundation of national consciousness and, indeed, of essential nationhood. No government, therefore, even good government, is ever a substitute for self-government.

It is thus that citizenry cannot be compared with animals and their pedigree. Responsibility to the popular will impels a respect for the peoples' judgment and their representatives. For if the buyer does indeed verify the pedigree of the animals, the buyer in the electoral process is none other than the voter. He does, no doubt, pronounce upon the candidates in casting

his vote for only one out of a plurality of aspirants. No other persons or authority can usurp this function belonging, in truth, to the voter. Election Commissioners are only referees. They cannot become contestants imposing their own subjective value judgments where only those of the electorate are relevant.

Pakistan's predicaments are, of course not entirely unique. The elite in the Third World, in countless countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, exhibit the symptoms that in Pakistan non-democratic governments have, so often in the past, displayed. And the consequences here, as well as elsewhere, can be no different.

It is true, for instance, that the Third World elite is seldom confident of obtaining the stamp of popular approval for measures designed to perpetuate its own dominance. It seeks, therefore, means to circumvent the processes whereby popular consensus can be expressed or obtained. These circumventing manoeuvres are invariably packaged in sugar-coated staff solutions. The elite also discovers, in the bureaucrat, a ready agent for the marketing of all staff solutions with such oversimplistic ad-like captions like the one that is the favourite with the Third World elite: "The people, lacking political consciousness and civic responsibility, are simply not fit for democracy." In Pakistan we only add, as a safe measure, the sweeping generalisation that the peoples' representatives are also corrupt and inefficient and hence not capable of governance. In two statements a circle is neatly squared. What is not perceived by the Third World elite (if it does not deliberately avoid perceiving) that even if these highly contentious and dubious value judgements were correct, the element of truth in them is due not to a freplay of democracy but rather on account of its frequent and repeated obstruction.

Yet such absolute and sweeping statements, over-simplifying complex relationships and sets of facts, appeal to simpler and less complex minds. These generalisations are loaded with invitations to adventurers sitting in the wings and the stage is thus again set for the self-righteous to inflict another entry.

Political naivete does not end here. Third World politics is replete with instances where staff solutions, or bureaucratic remedies, are justified solely by the success-ethic. Effective government is too

readily declared synonymous with legitimate governance. In the mere present-day competence to legislate is held implicit the political expediency to make, by legislation, fundamental changes in the basic structure of the Constitution. Once the most tenuous and even dubious competence to legislate (and that too in presentum only, for who can predict the future) is acquired, justifications are readily contrived to repeal, destroy and pull down the existing structures. However guised, the motive is always transparent. It is inevitably to fabricate an ultra-Constitutional system suited to the individual predilections of one man or of a small and narrow elite.

In Pakistan today the competence to alter the structure of the Constitutions, is said to have been derived from the judgement of the former Chief Justice Anwar-ul-Haque, in the 1977 Case of Begum Nusrat Bhutto, whereby the present Martial Law was initially legitimised. In the judgment where reference is made to the powers of the Chief Martial Law Administrator, a half-sentence commands the particular attention of the reader: "... including the power to 'amend' it (the Constitution)." From this point logic is made to take a reckless qualitative jump. The protagonists and supporters of the "Omni-competence" argument at once conclude that since the power to amend the Constitution has thus been bestowed, it must be read as the power to amend indiscriminately, indeed, as the power to abrogate.

One is not quite clear how far itself does the Supreme Court's verdict permitting amendments go. Is it not itself subject to the all-embracing and indisputably supreme dictates of the doctrine of Necessity, making the validity of every action conditional upon the irrefutable necessity of the earliest restoration of the Constitution of 1973? After all, the very legitimacy of the take-over of July, 1977 is derived from this necessity!

In any case, the power to "amend" cannot include the power to "abrogate". A given power cannot be "employed" to wield a far greater authority or to exercise power in excess of the quantity actually vested. Such an exercise would be hit by the age-old, oft-applied and inevitable doctrine of "ULTRAVIRES" which, literally, invalidates actions "beyond the competence" of the authority purporting to promulgate or apply them.

The 1973 Constitution is a com-

pact. It is a delicate balance elaborately and meticulously fabricated to meet the demands of divergent interests within the scope of one polity. It is like a many-ended see-saw, which if disturbed

or shaken can irretrievably lose its delicate equilibrium. Variation of weight on any one of its several arms is only going to vindicate and strengthen the support of centrifugal elements who have, by this document, been pulled into an orbit that takes its bearing from one common axis.

Inherent in a polity assembled from a multiplicity of components and constituent parts, are both a unity as well as a diversity. If the right balance is maintained between the unity and the diversity, between, that is, the forces of integration and autonomy, the two can co-exist. But if either the imposing centrist forces, (the bureaucratic state apparatus), or the potentially centrifugal elements, (the leaders of the historic national pulls of the smaller ethno-cultural population groups), wrest the advantage, the result is always the same. Even the action of the centripetal bureaucracy must generate (by Newton's law) a reaction by the separatists in each area of the polity. And any attempt to impose an iron grip upon the smaller (or even larger) entities will be met, in turn, with the equal, if not greater, resistance of iron fists wielded by the formidable and indomitable sinews of popular resistance. At least we must always keep the lessons of East Pakistan in our minds at all times when we contemplate fundamental changes without seeking the opinion of the popular will.

If follows from the above that any such change as alters the fundamentals of the Constitution is likely to be *ultra vires* in the juristic sense and disastrous in its political consequences. Any change in the electorate, as also any restriction in the category of candidates, will be such measures. Under the 1973 Constitution the National Assembly must be elected by the "direct and free" vote of the electorate. Freedom, under the Constitution, must imply both a freedom to the voter as well as to the candidate. Since, moreover, the only disqualifications for candidates are those prescribed in Article 63 of the Constitution, any addition to this list will amount to tampering with fundamentals

of the Constitution as it will spell a change in the membership of the supreme legislative body under that Constitution. This, then, would be more than an amendment. It would amount to the abrogation of a fundamental aspect of the Constitution.

There is yet another inhibition on the competence to legislate, amend, repeal or promulgate. Let us remember the "specified and limited" mandate permitted by the Supreme Court in the case of Begum Nusrat Bhutto (1977). The Court prescribed (besides the restoration of (sic) "normalcy"), the "earliest possible holding of free and fair elections for the purpose of the restoration of democratic institutions "under" the 1973 Constitution" (per Anwar, C.J.). And "under" means "in accordance with", "subject to", and "within the scope of". It cannot be made to imply "in derogation of", or even "despite".

At another point in the judgement, the Court referred to the imperative mandate to hold "free and fair elections leading to the restoration of democratic rule in accordance with the dictates of the Constitution". (This would exclude the dictates (or advice) to the contrary made (or given) by any person or body - be it the Council of Islamic Ideology or a Shariat Court.

There are, then, other proposals. An Orwellian mistrust of political parties (expressed in the author's "Nineteen Eighty Four") continues to hold despite our chronological proximity, in 1982, to title-year. And, quite clearly, a non-party election, besides failing to obtain the stamp of the political parties (and hence the necessary element of popular legitimacy), would offend the provisions of Article 17 of the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of association. Let it not be forgotten that even such provisions of the Constitution which today appear to be dormant under the greater weight of effective power-politics may tomorrow be the very criterion and touchstone of validity. History, time, and posterity eventually revert to standards that crass expediency may seem to have discarded for the present.

There is another aspect of non-party elections. Political parties do not exist under flags or badges.

They do not need formal offices for their management. Political parties are the product of real, objective conditions and their obliteration by the mere letter of association and loyalties call upon the minds and hearts of the populace. People identify themselves not with the emblems, but with manifestoes and programmes. No political party can ever be obliterated by the mere letter of any law. The "Awam Dost" participation in the local council elections of 1979 established this with such clarity. Indeed implicit in the recognition of the existence of 78 political parties is the fact that the law dissolving the (Regulation 48) could achieve nothing more than to create a fiction. "Defunct" is, in these terms, therefore, an obvious misnomer. So why attempt the impossible! Any such attempt can only succeed in creating distorted fictions with no correspondence in reality. And, of course, the only process known to man whereby the number of political parties was reduced and a two-party system came about, is the sifting function of the democratic process. This alone, can separate the grain from the chaff. If anyone genuinely wants a responsible two-party system functioning in Pakistan, let him realise that the only route to it is through the discerning filter of popular judgement. If we want to reduce the number of parties, let us go to the polls. The number will be reduced with each successive election. There is no other way.

The great merit of the 1973 Constitution as we have seen, is that in addition to being Federal, it encompasses the principle of adult franchise. We may call it democratic federalism. With the freedom of choice of government inherent, by definition, in its very "raison d'être" democracy is itself the process of the exposure of corrupt and illegal practices. Thereby it becomes, in a continuum, the ultimate word in accountability. No argument, howsoever altruistic in purpose, can detract from this reality. But self-interest may yet prevail where argument and logic fail. The elite dread the floodlights and choose to remain in the darker recesses of the back-stage.

The democratic process, then, admits of no alternatives. Any attempts to tamper with the re-

cognised modes of permitting the populace to give a free and fair expression to their will, can be nothing short of tragic.

Nor does the 1973 Constitution call for any amendment -- at least not by any method that does not depend upon the participatory and truly representative will of the people of each and every constituent unit of the Federation. The terms of a compact can never be varied unilaterally by one party alone without vitiating the very substratum thereof. Nor can any legalistic or technical argument of competence, bearing the stamp of the courts alone, be pressed into use in this regard. The competence to amend the Constitution, and the competence to legislate or shape a political system, can be derived only from the body-politic itself and from no other authority. This is the lesson of East Pakistan and of neighbouring Iran. Let this be burnt into our hearts. *(Concluded)*

CSO: 4220/18

BUDGET MAKING TO REMAIN WITH FINANCE DIVISION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 5 May 82 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, May 4: The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Dr Mehbubul Haq has contradicted news items alleging that the responsibility of preparing the Budget has been transferred from the Finance Division to the Planning Division.

The Deputy Chairman clarified the position in a statement here today.

Following is text of his statement:

"My attention has been drawn to news items appearing in a section of the Press regarding the alleged transfer of the responsibility of preparing the annual budget from the Finance Division to the Planning Division. The news items are totally baseless. The correct position is that the Finance Minister, as Chairman of the Planning Commission, has the full responsibility for the preparation of both the Annual Development Programme for next year as well as the financial budget.

"The Planning Division is currently having some preparatory meetings with concerned Federal Ministries and Provincial Governments to formulate ideas and proposals to be presented to the Finance Minister and later on the Annual Plan Coordination Committee and the National Economic Council for their approval. The role of the Planning Commission is to assist the Finance Minister in the preparation of the development programme for next year and to give suggestions for the consideration of the Finance Minister in the preparation of the next budget."

CSO: 4220/17

PAKISTAN

NWFP GOVERNOR: U.S., UK APPRECIATE NATION'S AFGHANISTAN STAND

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 82 p 17

[Text] Islamabad, May 20--The NWFP Governor, Lt-Gen. Fazle Haq has said that Pakistan's principled stand on the Afghanistan issue was being highly appreciated by the American and British authorities.

Talking to newsmen at the Islamabad airport, on his return from a six-week tour of United States, Britain and Spain, the Governor said, he had discussed the Afghan problem with the British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher in London and the American Administration officials, Senators and Congressmen, in Washington and New York.

He said that the British Prime Minister lauded Pakistan's stand on the Afghan issue and wished other nations to emulate it. She had also conveyed her best regards to the people of Pakistan in this connection.

Gen. Fazle Haq said that he also met Mr Peter Blacker, British Deputy Minister for Defence, during his week long stay in London.

About his talks with the American officials, Senators and Congressmen, the Governor noted with satisfaction that the United States was providing assistance to Pakistan to share her burden of providing humanitarian relief to over two and a half million Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

He also noted that the United States authorities had decided to step up delivery of 240 trucks which would reach Pakistan by October for the improvement of communication for the distribution of humanitarian relief. These trucks, he said, were in addition to the two workshops already provided by the American authorities.

Replying to a question, the Governor said the number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan had exceeded the 2.7 million figure. More than 2.2 million of them were in NWFP alone, he added.

CSO: 4220/20

GREATER EFFORTS RECOMMENDED FOR MIDDLE EAST EXPORT

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 82 p 9

[Editorial: "Export to M.E. Countries"]

[Text]

THE Export Promotion Bureau is reported to have drawn up a "comprehensive and integrated programme" to boost exports to some of the neighbouring Arab countries. This has long been overdue. Opportunities and openings for exports have existed in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Qatar, Oman and Bahrain ever since the oil boom gave a new vigour to Middle East economies. Many countries have already taken full advantage of the fabulous markets that have opened up to exports from all over the world. Pakistan's exporters have also benefited, but this market has yet to be tapped fully to the mutual advantage of Pakistan and these friendly Islamic countries. Geographical proximity by itself should have been sufficient to warrant greater efforts towards promoting trade with the seven countries, which have the fewest import controls. Nevertheless, the realisation at this point of time that this large market offers opportunities for Pakistan's exports is welcome. The programme should be im-

plemented without wasting time on the usual paper work and unnecessary discussions and meetings.

In view of falling exports in recent months, now is the time for effective action. Official statistics show a decrease of 17.33 per cent in export during July 1981-March 1982 period (Rs. 17.68 billion value-wise) as compared with the same period last year (Rs. 21.39 billion value-wise). Exports have suffered on account of the deepening recession and growing protectionism in the industrialised countries. The lower prices of rice, cotton and cotton yarn, which are Pakistan's major exports, have also taken their toll. Oil-exporting countries are faced with the problem of the loss of oil income due to the depressed demand and lower prices of oil. But the seven Arab countries named above have preferred not to make cuts in their development programmes and ancillary works. There are also indications that they will continue with free imports of

consumer and capital goods. This should mean an assured market for Pakistani exports. The Export Promotion Bureau has identified the goods for which a demand exists in these countries. They are agricultural and animal husbandry products, engineering goods, building materials and consumer goods. Producers and exporters should explore these markets and establish business links with reputable Arab trading houses. Bilateral and multilateral contacts and exchanges must be fostered among the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Pakistan and of these countries. The EPB should also lend full support to the private sector in its efforts to promote exports, because private traders can act without getting entangled in bureaucratic red-tape. Rather than delay the implementation of the programme by seeking acquisition of two small cargo ships exclusively for trade with the Gulf region, the Government could work out arrangements with the existing Pakistani shipping lines.

FISCAL POLICIES BLAMED FOR LACK OF SAVINGS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 18 May 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Firm Fiscal Deterrents to Saving"]

[Text]

If investment in national saving schemes has risen by 354 per cent in one year, that does not necessarily mean saving has suddenly become popular with the masses in Pakistan. The fact is that the country has few viable alternatives to investing in the national savings department, which, for example, offers 17 per cent interest as well as pays the dividend every six months under the Khas Deposit Certificate Scheme. Its Defence Savings Certificates offer a higher return along with investment relief for income tax payers. In a country in which the share market is passing through a prolonged paralysis for long, and the returns from NIT are modest, while those from ICP are rather uncertain, the National Savings Department does offer better terms. Hence instead of Rs. 847.5 million mobilised last year, it has been able to mobilise Rs. 3,850 million this year. And it has been able to do that despite the zakat, which reduces the earnings by 2.5 per cent per year, and the scandals that rocked the department for the last two years following defalcation of money from its branches in several parts of the country.

In spite of the notable success of the Savings Department, the Finance Minister has lamented that Pakistan is among the developing countries with the lowest domestic savings rate in the world. He has done so because while the minimum savings is expected to be 20 per cent, Pakistan's savings rate is as low as six per cent of the gross domestic product. In fact, it has been falling over the years from 12 per cent in the early 1970s, and by 1978-79 it hit the rock bottom of 4.5 per cent. It has since then been inching upwards. Why has this been happening in spite of the steady economic growth in the country in recent years? Why are countries with a low per capita income and a lower growth rate able to achieve far higher savings than Pakistan? If India with a lower growth rate, and far lower per capita income can achieve a domestic savings rate of 23 per cent why should Pakistan's performance be so depressingly low? Why should it be lower than in Sri Lanka? These are some of the basic questions troubling economists and planners who find the need for far larger resources to accelerate the tempo of investment and development in the country. To make a success of the fifth five-year plan the planning commission estimated a savings

rate of 12.5 per cent by 1982-83, but what has been achieved is less than half of that. So the results have to fall far short of the targets in many areas.

But the rate of savings would have been higher if inflation had not been so high and so well entrenched. If high prices reduce the ability of people to save, higher taxation makes it far worse. As the final discouragement to savings comes the low return from savings and investment, a return which is often far below the real rate of inflation. Even the highly prized Khas certificate at 17 per cent interest rate is giving nearly a zero return as the officially admitted inflation is 14 per cent and zakat deducted is 2.5 per cent.

Admittedly the savings drive is confined largely to urban areas which constitute about 70 per cent of the country. The agricultural area, where a good deal of the enhanced farm income is available, is largely out of this drive. Why cannot the local councils and its members be utilised for the purpose and institutional arrangements made all over the country? The large untaxed underground income, too, is not being mobilised. Steps have to be taken to bring in the funds of this parallel economy for national development. And it is a pity that only 14 per cent of the vast home remittances—Rs.22 billion—is invested and out of that less than two per cent is invested on an institutional basis.

Undoubtedly the fiscal policy and procedures of the country stand in the way of domestic savings in a big way. Heavy taxation leaves the corporate sector with too little savings. In fact, this sector is calling for more and more bank loans for survival. And despite the very heavy taxation the government has a large deficit budget annually and it has to resort to heavy deficit financing. Because of high prices and high taxes and a pattern of high living and conspicuous consumption that has come to persist, the people are left with little or no savings. And to add to all that, the Government has slashed the investment allowance for tax payers and made it a sham. So a higher rate of savings necessarily demands better opportunities for saving and higher rewards. It calls for an enlightened fiscal policy instead of the negative and inhibitive kind that thwarts our progress all around.

YAQUB KHAN ADDRESSES HAVANA NONALIGNED MEETING

BK040935 Karachi Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 3 Jun 82

[Text] Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan has said that the present situation in Afghanistan poses a direct threat to the region's security as well as world peace. He was addressing the ministerial meeting of the coordination bureau of the nonaligned movement in Havana today. He said Pakistan had a direct and vital stake in the peaceful solution of the conflict in Afghanistan as a result of which Pakistan had been burdened with the enormous responsibility of caring for over 2.7 million Afghan refugees. The foreign minister said it remained an ardent hope that peace and tranquility would return to its (?tormented) neighbor so that the Afghan people could once again become the masters of their own destiny and the Afghan refugees could return to their homes in safety and honor.

The Pakistan foreign minister said the nonaligned movement must speak out courageously and unambiguously whenever the rights of people and sovereign states were threatened or violated. In this connection he referred to the meeting of the foreign ministers of the nonaligned countries in February last. He said it made an appeal for a political settlement on the basis of withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and with full respect for the territorial integrity and nonaligned status of Afghanistan. He said it is a matter of regret that the call by the international community for such a political settlement made in the United Nations, the nonaligned movement meeting and the Organization of the Islamic Conference had been unheeded. Pakistan, he added, together with the overwhelming majority of the members countries of the world body, is committed to the resolution of the crisis in Afghanistan. He appreciated the efforts of the UN secretary general and his personal representative on Afghanistan in this connection. Pakistan, he added, looked forward with constructive spirit to discussions on Afghanistan issue beginning in Geneva on the 16th of this month.

On the Iraq-Iran war, the foreign minister referred to the efforts of President Gen Mohammad Ziaul Haq to resolve the conflict as a member of the Islamic peace committee. Pakistan, he added, had special interest in the speedy solution of this conflict which exacerbated the climate of insecurity in the already troubled region.

About the South Atlantic, he said it was Pakistan's fervent hope that the hostilities between Britain and Argentina would cease forthwith and a just settlement is found.

About the Middle East situation, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said the key to find the just and lasting peace remained in withdrawal of Israel from Arab and Palestinian territory. The other topics dealt with by the foreign minister included the right of self-determination by the Namibian people, to (?make) the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, disarmament and the world economic situation.

CSO: 4220/45

MORE REALISTIC PLANNING FOR WATER NEEDS URGED

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 82 p 17

[Editorial: "Planning for Water"]

[Text]

THE Sind Governor's water supply disclosure is no doubt happy news for Karachiites, but it is a happiness which is overshadowed by the thought of what will happen until the new scheme begins to function, and also its subsequent inadequacy. Work will begin on the fourth phase of the Greater Karachi Bulk Water Supply Scheme from the next financial year. The scheme will cost Rs. 360 million and will eventually make available to Karachi 70 million gallons of water daily. What has not been mentioned by the Governor is when the project is expected to be completed. Earlier estimates by Karachi Development Authority officials placed the date of completion in 1985, but the Governor's disclosure that the fourth phase will itself be again divided into two phases tends to throw some doubt on whether the work will be completed by 1985. In addition to the fourth phase another, smaller, scheme is development of Dumlottee Wells, which is ex-

pected to supply 4 MGD from next month.

While these development works are welcome, they do not remove the basic problem which faces all citizens, and this has to do with the fact that even if the fourth phase is completed next month by some magic, it will be insufficient to meet the city's needs. The Hub Dam scheme, if it is completed later this year as stated by officials, is meant for industry and some residential areas in one part of Karachi. So between now and whenever the fourth phase gets completed the water shortage will only keep getting worse. Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the whole matter is that we don't hear of what will happen afterwards. It is well known to everyone that the city is confronted with water famine. Those in power are also aware of the fact that the schemes currently underway will not be able to make good the shortage. No projects are meant to be undertaken so that in a few years the water needs of the city can be met

substantially. The Bulk Water Supply Scheme to which the authorities are still adhering faithfully became out of date more than fifteen years back, and this was evident to all discerning observers. The scheme was formulated on the premise that Karachi's population in the year 2000 would be in the region of three million, and the various phases of the Scheme would have met needs comfortably if that had been the case. The three million figure was reached 35 years before it was scheduled to come by — in 1965 — and Karachi's population is around 5.5 million now. Yet the authorities are complacently adhering to the original plan — and with delays at that. As said earlier, news of the impending work on the fourth phase is welcome, yet this can in no way reassure the citizens. For that plans will have to be taken up which are intended to effectively meet present needs of the people and industry, and in which provisions for the future are based on recent projections.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE FOR HAJIS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 May 82 p 1

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, May 18: The government has allocated Rs. 500 million as foreign exchange quota for 50,000 pilgrims, who will perform Haj this year after a computerised draw which declared them successful, it was reliably learnt here today.

A competent source of the Haj Ministry told this correspondent that this year 39,000 Hajis would travel by air while about 11,000 would be transported to Jeddah by three ships, each undertaking three trips.

In each trip, he said, Shams will carry 1096 passengers, Safina-e-Arab 1238 and Safina-e-Abid 1083 Hajis. Adequate arrangements are being made to prevent any last-minute mishap on hurdle. Last year another ship Safina-i-Hujjaj had become inoperative after developing serious defects at the crucial time of departure.

It is expected that the transportation of Hajis by sea and air which would commence by the end of July and terminate some time in August would provide adequate period to the Hajis to settle well in time for the Haj, which is falling on September 25.

According to the source in addition to the 371 groups, each comprising 40 Hajis, there would be 100 "Khadimul-Hujjaj" who would reach Saudi Arabia in advance

to make necessary arrangements to facilitate the Hajis' stay there.

Their duties will include expending help in tracing out the lost luggage, provision of medical care to the sick and attending to similar other services. "While the group-leaders, for each group will travel on the Hajis funds. The Khadimul Hujjaj will be looked after by the government by providing free accommodation and return air-ticket.

In addition to the group-leaders and Khadimul Hujjaj a team of para-medical staff and doctors will remain with the Hajis during the entire Haj period. They would set up their transit camp at Mecca, Medina and Mina.

This year in all, 95,000 applications were received for Haj. Out of this 62,000 persons applied under "regular scheme" and 33,000 should desire to perform Haj under the "sponsorship scheme." Around 42,000 unsuccessful applicants will not be able to perform Haj.

This year also the source said, Hajis would be issued a separate Haj passport (Blue), free of cost.

While 15,000 Hajis will travel under the arrangements made by the government, the remaining 35,000 would be going to Saudi Arabia on their own.

Those travelling by air will have to pay Rs. 6600 as return fare while the steamer voyagers will pay Rs 65,00 Rs 5900 and Rs 4300 for the first, second and the deck classes respectively.

ZIA DEFINES ARMED FORCES ROLE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 May 82 p 8

[Text]

RISALPUR, May 18: President Ziaul Haq today called upon the officers and the jawans of the Armed Forces to always keep themselves ready to discharge their sacred duty of defending the ideological and geographical frontiers of Pakistan.

Speaking at the seventh convocation of the Military College of Engineering, here, Gen. Zia said nations which did not have the ability to defend themselves and did not follow the commandments of Almighty had no future.

The President said the fundamental duty of the Armed Forces was the country's defence and paving the way for Pakistan's prosperity. "You can acquit yourself of this important responsibility only when you abide by the principles of the Islamic faith and build your character in conformity with the teachings of the Holy Quran" he added.

Education and training, Gen. Zia said, was a two sided process, devotion of the students to the acquisition of knowledge and desire of the teachers to adorn their students with sciences, arts and craft-

smanship. He said it was with the combination of these two urges that lights up the torch of various branches of knowledge and arts.

The President said he wanted to draw the attention of the new graduates of the engineers corps being an important branch of the armed forces, to their important responsibilities of continuously augmenting their knowledge and craftsmanship. It was necessary, he said, because their dexterity and expertise could play a vital role in the defence of the country.

The leadership of only such officers, Gen. Zia said, was accepted as could demonstrate their technical abilities in all branches of the professional career and fully showed their leadership qualities. The military officers, he said, gained the confidence of their subordinates only when they proved their ability which called for hard and diligent work. He said even as it was, acquisition of knowledge and usage of knowledge in a particular situation were two different things and the combination of those two things only lead to real leadership qualities.

Gen. Zia said the corps of engineers was important in two ways as it had to render services to the nation both in peace and

war. The army engineers, he said, had to undertake special services and also attain full competence in the arts of war, and as such the army engineers had to go through exceedingly exacting situation in most military engagements.

The President said even in the peace time the services of the army engineers were commendable like evacuation and rehabilitation of flood stricken people, their transportation and first aid, to the construction of paths and bridges and roads in Pakistan's remote areas. He said the construction of the Karakoram Highway was a feat of the officers and jawans of the corps which was always to be remembered.

Gen. Zia said every step taken by the inhabitants of the region on the Karakoram Highway would be a step reminiscent of the Pak-China cooperation and a homage to the Pakistan army engineers.

MOSQUE: Earlier Gen. Zia laid the foundation stone of a mosque in the military college of engineering.

The mosque to be built mainly with the individual contribution of the students and ex-students would have a place for about 500 persons and cost around Rs. 7 lakh.—APP

CSO: 4220/18

RED TAPE IN AWARDING SCHOLARSHIPS CRITICIZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 18 May 82 p 10

[Article by Salim Bokhari]

[Text] ISLAMABAD, May 17: Due to bureaucratic red-tapism, a large number of foreign as well as national scholarships go waste every year. Of late the Ministry of Education has evolved a method to solve this chronic problem, an education expert told 'The Muslim' here today.

He said 40 per cent of foreign scholarships and 19 per cent of national scholarships could not be granted to the students for one reason or the other. In case of foreign scholarships, numerous objections were raised by the concerned ministries and the students failed to seek clearance resulting in lapse of the scholarships, he added.

The Ministry of Education administered overseas scholarships of two categories including scholarships financed by the Ministry and scholarships awarded by foreign governments and donor agencies, he said. The scholarships financed by the Ministry of Education were covered under four different schemes namely: Central Overseas Training Scheme, Quaid-e-Azam Scholarships, Merit Scholarships and Khushhal Khan Khattak Scholarships, he added.

Under the Central Overseas Training Scheme, the expert said, only university and college teachers were eligible. For university teachers, the selections were made by the University Grants Commi-

ssion on the basis of the nominations received from each university, which in turn was required to select on the basis of the established criteria. Explaining the criterion, the expert said that the candidate must have good qualifications with at least first or second division in Bachelor and Master Degrees and at least second class in the remaining examinations while for technical or engineering subjects at least a degree with first division and second division in the remaining examinations. Moreover, they should be on the regular teaching staff of the departments. Preference was given to those who have completed five years of service. They should also execute a bond to serve in their department for a minimum period of five years after completion of their studies.

On the other hand, the nominations of the college teachers were received from provincial governments. All such nominations were examined by a high-powered Foreign Training Committee of the Ministry of Education.

The expert said, under the Quaid-e-Azam Scholarship Scheme, each scholarship was awarded to a student of each university by securing the highest percentage of aggregate marks in their M.A./M.Sc./B.Sc (Engineering) and MBBS examinations.

While under the Merit Scholarship scheme, he said, two scholar-

ships were awarded every year to each university to the next two best students, after the award of Quaid-e-Azam Scholarship, one in the faculty of Science and the other in the Humanities. Khushhal Khan Khattak Scheme, he said awarded scholarship to a student who secured the next highest position in all the subjects (Arts, Science and Engineering) in the universities of NWFP after the grant of Quaid-e-Azam Scholarship and Merit Scholarship.

He said scholarships offered by the foreign governments and donor agencies could be classified under Cultural Exchange Programme, Technical Assistance Programme and Miscellaneous or Ad hoc offers. The scholarships awarded by the foreign governments under the Cultural Exchange Programme were advertised in the national Press. Selections from of the applicants were made by a high-powered Foreign Training Committee of the Ministry of Education purely on merit basis keeping in view the provincial and regional quota and the field of study offered by the donor country.

He said the facilities under the technical Assistance Programme and miscellaneous offers were normally meant for in-service personnel. The selections were made out of the nominations received from the provincial governments and universities according to criteria of eligibility of each offer.

DETAILED SURVEY OF PAKISTANIS IN SAUDI JAILS

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 82 p 15

[Text] Quetta, May 20--The Pakistan Ambassador in Saudi Arabia has been included in the committee set up by the Saudi Government to visit various jails in that country and undertake a detailed survey of the detained and imprisoned Pakistan nationals.

The number of Pakistanis jailed for committing criminal offences stands at 500 while the number of those detained on charges of residing illegally is yet to be ascertained.

This was stated by Federal Minister of Labour, Manpower and Overseas Pakistanis Ghulam Dastgir Khan at a news conference in Quetta on Wednesday.

He said a legal cell had also been set up in Saudi Arabia to provide legal assistance to Pakistan nationals in cases instituted against them.

He told a correspondent the existing labour policy would be improved and amended, where necessary, after consultation with employers and the employees.

The referendum for bargaining agents in Pakistan Railways would be held next month.

Giving an assurance that no further retrenchment was contemplated in PIA, he said the Government wanted to provide jobs to people and not to render them jobless.

He informed a correspondent that the Manpower Division had completed a survey to find out details and the number of doctors and engineers in the country. Similar survey, he added, would be carried out in other sectors.

He told a questioner that as a politician he thought that elections in the country would have to be held sooner or later but it would be ensured that those who got elected were pious and God-fearing.

He said elections were delayed because those who delivered speeches outside had been holding indoor meetings with Gen Zia-ul-Haq.

WORKSHOP ON POPULATION REPORTING PLANNED IN AUGUST

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 8 May 82 p 2

[Text] Islamabad, May 7: The first-ever women's journalists workshop on population and development reporting would be held in Karachi in the first week of August next, stated Dr Attiya Inayatullah, Presidential Adviser on Population Planning here today 25 women delegates from across the country would attend the workshop.

In an interview she said this was their maiden efforts to acquaint the media women with the population problems. Dr Attiya said the Population Division had prepared a comprehensive communication strategy for dissemination of information on population, and development.

This strategy, she added, covered all types of media including print media, electronic media, film media and traditional folk media. Dr Attiya said this was, for the first time, that we had planned to integrate the traditional media with the communication strategy on population. She was of the view that hitherto traditional media including jesters, folk artists (bhand, nut mirasi) were neglected in the communication strategy despite the fact that they had got greater and easier access to the general public as compared to other communication agencies. Similarly she said, the commercial film media, too, was being for the first time included in this communication strategy.

All these measures Dr. Attiya said, would go a long way in making the people realise the population explosion carrying explosive problems. The Presidential Adviser said a meeting of the producers, directors and script writers connected with the radio and TV was being held in the middle of June next to consider the ways and means as to how to implement the population welfare plan.--APP

CSO: 4220/17

OFFSHORE SEISMIC SURVEY OPENED

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 82 p 7

[Text] The Federal Minister for Petroleum and Natural Resources, Maj.-Gen (rtd) Rao Farman Ali, on Thursday inaugurated offshore seismic exploration which is being conducted by OGDC under a Norwegian Assistance Programme.

The Minister said Oil and Gas Development Corporation (OGDC) for the first time since its inception was entering into active offshore seismic exploration. Previously offshore exploration in Pakistan was conducted by foreign oil companies.

He said 1,98,000 sq. km. offshore area of Pakistanis regarded to have good potential for discovery of oil. Out of that 48,000 sq. km. is within water depth of 200 meters.

Rao Farman Ali said offshore prospecting in Pakistan started in early 1962 and since then 4 international oil companies have conducted exploration. Eight wells have been drilled--7 offshore Indus Basin and 1 offshore Mekran Basin. This did not result in discovery of oil or gas fields.

OGDC's detailed studies have indicated that 4 of these wells due to technical problems could not reach their objective while 4 wells have been located off of an inadequate structural traps. [as published]

OGDC's research group have conducted detailed study of the data and are of the view that the offshore area of Pakistan has good prospect for discovery of petroleum.

Under a Norwegian Assistance Programme a technical mission of NORAD visited Pakistan in 1979 and discussed with OGDC about studies to be conducted prior to any further seismic survey of drilling. OGDC in collaboration with HDIP made a detailed study of available geological, geophysical, drilling and production testing data and prepared a report recommending the areas of potential interest. The Norwegian concurred with the technical conclusions of Pakistani experts and agreed to finance a seismic programme.

For seismic survey, services of experts and training of Pakistanis, Norway has assigned a grant equivalent to US \$1.2 million. The current seismic programme

will cover 1,200 km. on selected structures in the Indus offshore area. After the seismic survey the areas will be selected for drilling preferably in joint venture with oil companies.

The main objective of this effort is to establish the petroleum prospects of shore areas of Pakistan and to regenerate the interest of international oil companies in exploration of offshore areas of Pakistan.

CSO: 4220/20

PER CAPITA INCOME FIGURES, OTHER STATISTICS

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 20 May 82 p 5

[Text]

WASHINGTON, May 19: UAE tops the world with per capita GNP of 30,070 dollars per year, followed by Qatar with 26,080 and Kuwait with 22,840 dollars. West Europe comes next, led by Switzerland with 16,440, United States and Saudi Arabia are just about equal at 11,300 dollars.

This is disclosed by the "1982 data sheet" released here today by the "Population Reference Bureau".

The data sheet lists Pakistan as leading the nine nations of what it called "Middle South Asia" with per capita income of 300 dollars followed by Sri Lanka with 270, India 240, Bangladesh 120 and Bhutan 80 dollars per annum.

The Bureau's news release points out that the world population now 4.6 billion people, has doubled since 1940 which is nearly half way towards a projected peak population of some 10 billion likely to be reached around 2050.

Population growth rates have started slowing down, during the last few years, in all regions except Africa whose population is expected to increase seven-fold during 1950-2050 to 1.5 billion. Bangla

desh too with its present population of 90 million is projected to pass the 300-million mark in the next century.

In the industrialised countries, however, population has nearly stopped growing, and in a few cases, begun to decline, following the rise in the standards of living.

Pakistan's population is estimated to reach 142.7 million from the present level of 93 million by the turn of the century and India 967.6 million. The estimated growth rate is 2.0 per cent per year for India and 2.8 per cent for Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Iraq's population is expected to rise from 14 million to 24 million, Saudi Arabia's from 11 million to 20.5 million and United Arab Emirates from 1.2 million to 1.9 million by the year 2000. The estimated growth rate for Iraq is 3.4 per cent, for Saudi Arabia 3.2 per cent for UAE, 2.3 per cent, but for Israel it will only be 1.7 per cent with the result that in the overwhelmingly Muslim south-west Asia, out of the total population of 171 million by the turn of the century, Israel will have a bare 5.6 million.—PPL

MAJOR REASSESSMENT OF EXPORTS URGED

Karachi DAWN in English 18 May 82 p 4

[Text]

A State Bank publication has released data concerning export receipts during the month of March, which afford an opportunity to examine the country's performance in the sector. Pakistan's export earnings in March were Rs. 1,892.4 million, less than the corresponding month in 1981 when the amount earned was Rs. 2,934.4 million, but an improvement over the previous month of February with its low receipts of Rs. 1,752.4 million. Although from month to month in the current financial year March denotes an upturn, the general export trend is still traversing a period of decline. The March earnings are lower by Rs. 93.1 million than the average of the month over the past five years. To get a still clearer focus on what is happening to our exports one can look at the overall performance in the first three quarters of 1981-82. Total receipts from June to February stand at Rs. 16,700.8 million with a monthly average of Rs.

1,855.6 million. In the corresponding period in 1980-81, these figures were Rs. 20,354.4 million while the monthly average came to Rs. 2,261.6 million. A clear verdict emerges: the financial year 1981-82 has been a period of partial reversal in the sector of exports.

The commodity-wise analysis of the receipts in March points to the same initial upturn that may not, however, rescue the performance of the financial year. Cotton, which till December had been indicating a 50 per cent slump, has earned Rs. 241.1 million, picking up from February's low by a margin of Rs. 63.3 million. As if to confirm the uncertainty of market trends, rice in March earned Rs. 223.5 million, a downward trend from the previous month during which it earned Rs. 288.1 million. Floor coverings, tapestries and textile yarn and thread recorded a general improvement in March which must come as a relief in a sector worst affected by the vagaries of

the international market. Petroleum and petroleum products have earned less than what they did in February. Textile manufactures, leather goods and cotton clothing have gone up by good monthly margins while organic chemicals, already insignificant, have gone down to touch bottom. Saudi Arabia has emerged in March as our best customer, buying rice, textile and dry fruit worth Rs. 1,974.4 million. The U.S. came next, accounting for goods worth Rs. 152.2 million. There is no gainsaying the fact that the recession in the international economy has caused the reversal which is becoming manifest in our export pattern this year: but in no small measure is this negative development owed to our altogether top-heavy and procedurally complicated export machinery. A major reassessment of our general ability to cater to the emerging trends in the international market is called for.

GOVERNMENT TO PURCHASE RAIN-AFFECTED WHEAT

Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 82 p 1

[Text] Lahore, May 20--The Government will not let the cultivators suffer on account of the recent untimely rain, as far as possible, and purchase even the rain-affected wheat from them, the Federal Minister for Food and Agriculture, Vice-Admiral Mohammad Fazil Janjua, said here yesterday.

In a meeting with the provincial Food Minister, Sardar Rafique Hajder Leghari and provincial Food and Agriculture Secretaries, food technologists and agriculture scientists in the Civil Secretariat here, Vice-Admiral Janjua was informed that the recent rain had caused a superficial black spot at the end of the wheat grain and also slightly discoloured it. It was observed that it would not render the wheat in any way harmful for human consumption or for the purpose of storage.

The Federal Food Minister was further informed that the only cause of concern was the high percentage of moisture in the wheat for which the farmers were being advised to dry their stocks before selling them to the Government.

The provincial Government, Sardar Rafique Haider Leghari informed the meeting, had taken necessary measures to prevent any deterioration of the procured wheat.

In view of the changing climatic condition, the Federal Food Minister told the meeting that the Government, in future, would construct sophisticated silo godowns having facilities for evaporation of moisture.--APP

CSO: 4220/20

WHEAT SELF-SUFFICIENCY TO BE MAINTAINED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 20 May 82 p 1

[Text]

RAWALPINDI, May 19: The Federal Food and Agriculture Minister Vice-Admiral Mohammad Fazil Janjua, has said the country is expected to maintain its self-sufficiency position in wheat despite small setback in production in the Punjab due to untimely rains.

He told Radio Pakistan's representative in Islamabad this afternoon that the recent rains in the country had been untimely for harvesting of the crop, particularly in Central and Northern Punjab.

In three or four districts of the province the damage was estimated to be of the order of 10 to 15 per cent, but in other districts, it was estimated to be about one or two per cent. The total loss due to rain in Punjab is estimated to be about four to five per cent. The farmers, who have suffered this loss are being suitably compensated by the Provincial Government.

Vice - Admiral Mohammad Fazil Janjua said the overall adverse effect of the rains in the Punjab will not be more than two to 2.5 per cent on the national production and

by the grace of Almighty Allah there would be plenty of wheat to meet the country's requirements. He said the shortfall in production would be very easily managed through the reserve stocks.

Explaining the wheat position in other provinces, the Food and Agriculture Minister said, the crop in Sind and NWFP was much better than last year. He said in Sind, the production was estimated at 20.6 lakh tons as against the last year's production of 19.46 lakh tons. Similarly in NWFP, the estimated production was 9.8 lakh tons as against 9.4 lakh tons produced last year. The production in Baluchistan was expected to be 2.4 lakh tons as last year.

Vice - Admiral Mohammad Fazil Janjua said the procurement drive was in full swing. So far they had procured 4.25 lakh tons of wheat in the Punjab, Sind and NWFP. The national wheat procurement this year had been fixed at 35.25 lakh tons.

The Minister said the Government would buy any quantity offered by the farmers.—APP.

CSO: 4220/19

NEW 'PURDAH' DRESS COMPULSORY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 May 82 pp 1, 8

[Article by Anwar Iqbal: 'New 'Purdah' Dress in Schools, Colleges"]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, May 15: A new "Purdah" dress has been made compulsory from today in all women educational institutions coming directly under the Federal Government,

The students have been asked to cover their heads with a proper "DCPATT" and not a thin strip of cloth presently in use. However, the staff members have been advised to be modestly dressed and cover themselves in chadar.

The order says: "The Federal Government has decided that in all institutions under its control, girls from class IX upward will henceforth wear a proper "DCPATT" as head-cover, rather than the thin strip of cloth which is generally in use at present."

"It has further been decided that all female staff in schools and colleges will be modestly dressed and will wear a chadar over their dress," the order added.

This circular was served on March 15 on the educational institutions with two months time for implementation.

According to a survey conducted by this correspondent, staff members in all major colleges - Federal Government College for

Women, Government College Satellite Town, Sir Syed College and Viharunnisa College - were dressed

as directed and were either covered in a chadar or wearing a gown over their dress.

However, the girls do not seem to have taken this directive seriously. Hardly three to five per cent girls were dressed as directed while the rest were wearing the usual shape "DOPATTA".

When contacted, they said that no fresh orders were served concerning the new rules except the notice hung in March this year, asking them to obey new rules regarding the dress.

Most of the girls were of the view that wearing a chadar or the new "DOPATTA" outside the college was more important as observing "Purdah" inside the college did not make much sense. They maintained that they needed the "Purdah" most when they were outside the premises.

Meanwhile, Federal Secretary of Education Ahmad Zafar Farooqi, when contacted, said that the institutions were given two months time to implement the order and now the Ministry would ask them to submit a report concerning the implementation.

He said, he expected the order to be fully implemented in the schools but, there may be some difficulty in making the college girls obey it. But he expressed the hope that they would also be made to observe the new rules.

RESTRICTIONS ON WOMEN IN NAME OF ISLAM OPPOSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 May 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Women in Pakistan"]

[Text]

BEGUM Rana Liaquat-Ali Khan, President of the All Pakistan Women's Association, has urged the President to enter into a dialogue with her with a view to clarifying certain questions that have arisen recently concerning the Status of Women in Pakistan. This request follows widespread concern among women in the wake of a controversial suggestion made by a former member of the Majlis-i-Shoora and host of a religious TV programme that all working women should be pensioned off and confined to their homes. This statement has opened, quite understandably, a veritable Pandora's box and a national debate has ensued with all kinds of proposals being made by various quarters.

The time is ripe for a meaningful dialogue since it could lead to a crystallization of fundamental issues and result, hopefully, in a clearcut policy statement by the Government. A positive clarification is all the more essential since too many retrogressive views are being aired these days which are not conducive to a rational and reasoned discussion of the issue. As we have had occasion to note earlier, the emphasis has so far unfortunately been on form rather than on substance. The moment the question of women's rights comes up, there is a spate of protests that women are seeking to become un-Islamic. In the debate over chadar, the question of assuring the rights of women enjoined by Islam are accorded a secondary status. In this context, a number of issues need to be identified and understood.

The demands for the protection of their rights by women should not be interpreted in terms of Western liberalism or compared to the movement by women liberationists in that part of the hemisphere because they are fundamentally different due to the perspective imparted to them both by our religion and cultural traditions. No woman has ever asked or, for that matter, aspired to be recognised as the equal of a man in purely physiological terms. Equal rights mean the right of a woman to certain basic human needs including the right to education, employment and social justice. Islam has provided for rights to women in all spheres of life including inheritance, marriage, divorce, custody of children and legal justice. However, it is unfortunate that in implementation and interpretation, these rights have been consistently ignored or

actively suppressed by male dominated societies which have kept women subjugated out of a fear of social and economic insecurity.

It is time something was said about the rights of women enshrined in the Holy Quran. A woman is not required to be confined to her house; she is required only to be modest in dress and behaviour—the wives of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) were told to 'let down part of' their 'outer garments' while going out of their house so as to guard their modesty (as men were required to lower their eyes and be modest), and to speak in an 'unaffected manner' if they had to talk to other men; a woman had the right to divorce; to compensation for raising a child on her own and to the inheritance of property. Women in early Islam participated in business (Hazrat Khadija), took part in active battle (Hazrat Safia at the Ghazwa-e-Khandak); work side by side with men in tending the wounded (Hazrat Fatima at the Battle of Uhud); made personal sacrifices in the way of God alongside their men (Hazrat Zainab at Kerbala); exercised their right to propose to a man (Hazrat Khadija); and used their option to divorce a man (the wife of Zaid the adopted son of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)); to give only a few examples. These taken together with the rights given by God to women point quite unequivocally to the active participation of women in all spheres of human activity.

In a country where half the population is composed of women, they cannot be confined to their homes on the false plea that this is an Islamic requirement. Women share the work load of men — they till the field, sow and reap crops, graze cattle, treat the sick, educate the young and look after their homes as well. What kind of logic would justify continued contribution by women in these vital spheres but deny them the right to be engineers, administrators or civil servants? Nobody talks of pensioning off all the rural women; it is the educated urban woman who can now compete on an intellectual and economic plane who seems to raise such worry. Let us not confuse issues or justify retrogression in the name of religion. The rights of women have been clearly set forth in Islam and there is not much room for obtuse interpretations.

CSO: 4220/18

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

AMBASSADORS APPOINTED--Islamabad, May 18--The government has appointed a medical doctor and a university professor as Ambassadors to two Muslim countries, it was reliably learnt here today. The well-known surgeon, Major-General (Retd) Agha Masood Akram has been appointed Ambassador to Morocco. Professor Ehsan Rashid, an economist and former Vice-Chancellor of Karachi University, is going as Ambassador to Jordan. Prof Rashid replaces Shahriyar Khan, who is returning to the Foreign Office as Additional Secretary (Political). [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 19 May 82 p 1]

UK INDUSTRIAL PACKAGE DEAL--London, May 18--Pakistan has offered to the UK an industrial package deal, said Mr Elahi Bux Soomro, Pakistan's Minister for Industries. Talking to newsmen here this morning, Mr Soomro said the most important part of the deal is that Pakistan is willing and prepared to reactivate the sagging British textile and jute industries, to name a few, which are depressed at the moment and on the verge of collapse. The other parts of the deal are that Britain should provide training facilities to Pakistanis in modern technology and British industrialists should join hands with Pakistanis in setting up joint industrial ventures in various fields in Pakistan. Our suggestion was well received, Mr Soomro said. We told the British Government that we know how to put fresh impetus into British textile or jute industries. We can also provide markets for them in the Muslim countries if the British businessmen and industrialists start joint industrial ventures with Pakistanis as partners. The British Government, Mr Soomro said, is very seriously considering our package offer and very soon we would be having concrete proposals from them. Mr Soomro leaves for Pakistan tomorrow. [By Yehia Syed] [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 19 May 82 p 1]

'URDU NAMA' FOR OFFICES--Attock, May 17--The Punjab Government has through a circular, directed all its departments and district heads of nation building departments to purchase the monthly 'URDU NAMA' being published by the 'Majlis-e-Zaban-e-Daftri Punjab' to promote Urdu as national language of Pakistan. PPI [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 18 May 82 p 10]

CHANGE IN SCHOLARSHIP SYSTEM--Islamabad, May 20--The present system of awarding foreign scholarships to students will be drastically changed soon, sources close to the Ministry concerned told DAWN. Scholarships will now be awarded on the basis of academic achievements alone. The place of residence of a student would make no difference to his eligibility for the scholarship. The Ministry

concerned recently asked its Foreign Training Committee to select the candidates for awarding scholarships only on merit and not on the quota system. The system is said to have had a deteriorating effect on the overall educational standard of the country. The committee has also been instructed not to show any preference to the candidates hailing from the least developed areas as was the rule in the past. The sources further said that the committee will see that the subject of study of students seeking foreign scholarships is related to their province they belong. The decision, it is reported, will help the Ministry to select the right candidate for the right subject. [Text]
[Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 82 p 1]

NEW REFUGEE INFLUX FEARED--An Afghan dissident Mr Mohammad Eshaq, who is Director of Radio Free Kabul and a leading spokesman of "Mujahideen," has apprehended a new wave of refugees influx into Pakistan from Afghanistan.--PPI [Text]
[Karachi DAWN in English 21 May 82 p 6]

AMBASSADOR TO DPRK--Islamabad, May 3--The Government of Pakistan announced the appointment of Mr Sultan Mohammad Dutta as Ambassador of Pakistan to Democratic People's Republic of Korea, says a Press note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued here today.--PPI [Text] [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 4 May 82 p 10]

ADDITIONAL UNIVERSITIES PROPOSED--The Vice-Chancellor of Karachi University, Prof S.M.A. Tirmizi, has suggested the setting up of one or two more universities in Karachi to cater to the growing educational needs of the city. Speaking at the annual function of Karachi College for Women yesterday, he said that about 85,000 candidates from Karachi appear in the degree classes examinations every year. There was therefore the need of setting up more universities. Prof Tirmizi decried the notion that new universities should not be opened in view of paucity of funds. He pointed out that five new universities have been opened in the country, but none in Karachi. He highlighted the importance of education for women, as he said, they are endowed with duty to nurture the new generation. He advised the students to study the Holy Quran and Hadith with translation. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 4 May 82 p 14]

YAQUB KHAN, CASTRO MEETING--Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan called on President Fidel Castro in Havana and exchanged views with him on the Afghanistan issue and the Iran-Iraq war. He briefed the Cuban leader on the nature of the forthcoming talks on the Afghanistan issue in Geneva. He also referred to Pakistan's apprehensions about the Gulf situation and said that if the war did not end there is a danger of its expanding to other areas and a risk of foreign intervention. Israel might try to exploit the disunity among Muslim states to fulfill its aggressive designs. It was decided during the talks that both countries should keep themselves fully apprised of the latest situation on the Iran-Iraq war. On this occasion, President Castro referred to his cordial and friendly meeting with President Ziaul Haq in Havana in 1979 when the president led the Pakistan delegation to the summit. [Text] [BK051605 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 5 Jun 82]

FORMER PRESIDENT CHOWDHRY DIES--Former President Fazal Elahi Chowdhry died in Lahore tonight. He was 78. Late Fazal Elahi Chowdhry was a heart patient and had been under treatment in the Albert Victor Hospital in Lahore for some time. He held the presidency for 5 years. He was elected speaker of the National Assembly in 1972. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 1 Jun 82 BK]

KHAN'S MEETINGS IN HAVANA--Pakistan Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan has had talks in Havana with his Yugoslav counterpart. Bilateral relations between the two countries, especially the growing ties in the economic field, figured at the talks. Sahabzada Yaqub Khan expressed appreciation of the Yugoslav stand on Afghanistan and the Middle East. The Yugoslav foreign minister spoke of the positive results following President Mohammad Ziaul Haq's visit to Belgrade. The foreign minister also held talks with his Syrian counterpart, who appreciated Pakistan's strong support on the Middle East question, the right of the Palestinians and status of occupied Jerusalem. The foreign minister also had a meeting with Bangladesh Information Minister [as heard] Shamsul Huda and discussed the situation in the region. [Text] [BK021024 Karachi Domestic Service in English 1005 GMT 2 Jun 82]

CSO: 4220/42

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, MEMBERSHIP DISCUSSED

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 2 May 82 pp 14-17

[Text] Last February Somkiad Wanthana, Professor of Sociology at Kasetsart University, presented an essay on "The Evolution of the Thai Working Class: An Outline History of Labor After 200 Years" at the seminar "Two Centuries in Bangkok: Changes in Thai Society," at Thammasat University.

This seminar was convened by the Institute for the Study of Thai History at Thammasat University, the Social Studies Institute at Chulalongkorn University, the Thai Social Science Association, the Foundation for Textbooks in Sociology and Anthropology, and JURISPRUDENCE magazine.

The proceedings of the seminar will soon be published in JURISPRUDENCE. Seminar papers from the Institute for the Study of Thai History were published in mimeographed form and were quickly exhausted.

As for the contribution by Somkiad Wanthana, MATICHON's reporter noticed that it contained many interesting data, particularly in its portrayals of labor and of movements in Thai economy and society in the period 1960-1980.

The Growth of Labor in the Last Two Decades

Somkiad Wanthana gives many opinions on the growth and the role of Thai labor in the last two decades. Th thinks that this class has now come of age--in quantity. The number of employees in the private sector has grown from 1,143,234 in 1960 to 1,819,886 in 1970, 2,824,670 in 1974, and 3,291,400 in 1978. If we add in employees in public enterprises, the total is about 3,512,000.

Of these, 1,024,900 work in agriculture and 931,000 in industry and handicrafts. Besides these there are workers in service, commerce, construction, transportation, etc.

Although Workers Have Increased, Only 10 Percent Are Organized

Somkiad notes that of the more than 3,000,000 workers, not many are organized as yet. In 1980 there were 255 labor unions all told, with 153,550 workers. This comes to less than 10 percent of the workers. The most organized labor forces are those in manufacturing, transport, and public works, but in agriculture, services, commerce, and even in industry and crafts, which have large numbers of workers, there is not much organization at all.

As for the educational level of the workers, 78 percent in 1971-73 entered the labor market after finishing fourth grade. Six percent were seventh grade graduates. Somkiad therefore agrees with the conclusions of Narong Phetprasert, of the Chulalongkorn Faculty of Economics, that the labor market is full of uneducated people, most of whom can do no more than read and write. Their technical and academic knowledge is very low.

The Consciousness of Workers Has Its Basis in a Rural Outlook

Because the foundation of the Thai socio-economic system is still agriculture, the basic form of consciousness of the Thai working class is deeply rooted in the agricultural life. This gives them a rather atomistic character. They believe irrationally in luck and omens, ghosts and gods.

Phasuk Phongsphaichitr, author of "Early Stages in the Evolution of Labor Organizations in Thai Industry," has said in his book about the philosophy of employees: "From interviews with workers in various Bangkok factories which have labor organizations, we find that workers at present are interested only in mouth and stomach issues. They have no other philosophy. They are interested in how to raise their standard of living and improve their well-being. In general Thai workers love peace and easy living. They do not approve of violent methods. The most they will do is to stop work. If the employers or the Labor Department speaks kindly to them they will go back to work very readily."

Somkiad Wanthana thinks that the basic consciousness of the working class is still in the formative stage, a stage filled with rapid changes in the last 20 years. The cultural patterns of workers still have their basis very much in the rural outlook. Their way of thinking therefore is to confront the economic problem at hand. Moreover, Somkiad believes, their class and status consciousness has not yet crystallized into a structured whole.

The Average Monthly Income of Workers is 712 Baht

Table 1 shows the ordinary income of persons in major occupations for the year 1976. If we consider these data we will notice some clues that have been overlooked.

Table 1. Annual Per Capita Income, By Occupation

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Income Per Capita Per Year (Baht)</u>	<u>Index</u>
Agriculture	7,113	100.00
Industry	45,215	635.67
Commerce	70,339	988.88
Services	32,665	459.23
Average for all occupations	7,732	-----

Source: National Plan for Economic and Social Development, vol 4, 1978-82

Table 2. Size of Labor Force (1978) and Numbers of Unions and Members (1980),
By Sector

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Number of Workers</u> <u>(1978)</u> (1)	<u>Number of</u> <u>Unions (1980)</u> (2)	<u>Union Members</u> <u>(1980)</u> (2)
Agriculture	1,042,900	8	1,554
Manufacturing	931,900	161	55,538
Services	581,900	10	11,198
Commerce	397,300	15	4,385
Construction	263,900	3	283
Transport, Shipping and Communications	218,800	37	53,777
Public Property	57,900	12	25,092
Mining	12,700	9	1,725

Sources: (1) Somkiad Wanthana, excerpts from the National Statistical Office Report on the Second All-Kingdom Manpower Survey (July-Sept., 1978)

(2) Labor Department, Labor Statistics for 1979 (Aug. 1981)
pp 21-22

In 1976 the lowest wage for workers was 25 baht per day, or about 750 baht per month. It is worth considering that in 1976 the Economic and Social Planning Division of the National Commission on Economic and Social Development made a study of 1,731 workplaces with 118,430 employees and found that 58.8 percent were paid by the day. Only 36.6 percent were paid by the month. The remaining 5.1 percent were paid by the piece.

The study showed that the average daily wage of the majority of workers came to 27.40 baht, only slightly higher than the lowest wage.

In one month a worker works about 24 days. It follows that most workers will have wage incomes of 712.40 baht per month. But Table 1 shows that persons occupied in industry, commerce and services have monthly incomes of 3,768 baht, 5,862 baht and 2,722 baht respectively--very much higher than 712.40.

Somkiad suggests that these figures show how the incomes of owners and managers, who are few in number, must be enormous, if they can pull the average incomes up to the reported levels.

Thai Industry Still Has Small-Factory Characteristics

In the statistics of the Department of Industrial Factories for 1979, we find that not counting rice mills, there are about 45,166 factories in Thailand. Of these, 63.5 percent employ fewer than 10 people, 29.7 percent employ 10 to 49, 5.5 percent employ 50 to 199, and 1.2 percent employ 200 or more.

Somkiad thinks it is because Thai industries consist mainly of small factories that administration and labor relations are disorderly.

In the doctoral dissertation of Phiraphol Tritasawit, done at New York University, we find the conclusion that the outlook of employers is expressed in two related characteristics: they think that they are fathers or patriarchs, and they play the role as authoritarians.

Somkiad thinks that besides trying to lower wages, employers use many other devices, such as hiring by the day or from month to month rather than on a regular basis, letting go members of labor unions, shutting down work for short periods to get rid of enthusiastic unionists and then re-opening, and making lists of workers who dare to make demands and picket on their property.

The Role of the State Toward the Workers: Both Controlling and Supportive

According to his study "Economic Interest Groups in Thailand," Montri Chianwithiakan finds that "the government encourages merchants and capitalists both in law and in fact to form associations of various kinds, whereas they do not encourage and do not sincerely support workers and peasants forming interest groups. The result is that bargaining power between workers and peasants on one hand and merchants and capitalists on the other, already unequal, becomes even more unequal." Montri concludes, "This difference in bargaining power has a highly unfair effect on the division of income between the two groups."

In Somkiad's view, since 1957 the role of the government toward the working class can be roughly divided into two aspects.

A controlling role can be seen clearly in the sweeping arrests of labor leaders and the promulgation of dictatorial laws that oppress workers, for example Revolutionary Proclamation 19, dated 31 October 1958; Land Reform Proclamation 1, dated 8 October 1976; and Ministry of the Interior Proclamation dated 8 October 1976.

A supportive government role appears in laws protecting labor by forbidding oppressive conditions. But enforcing the laws in full measure and with justice to the workers has never been successful. Examples are the law governing means of curbing labor disputes of 1965, the law protecting job seekers of 1968, and Revolutionary Proclamation 103, concerning the protection of workers, of 1972.

Workers Can't Get Away From Politics

Mr Nikhom Chantharawithun, former head of the Labor Department, has said "...In the last 20 years, the movements of the workers and the Workers' Institute have consistently risen and fallen according to the results of changes in politics. We may say that the Thai labor force is closely tied to changes in politics."

Somkiad thinks that workers activities are always stamped as causing political turmoil.

One worker has pointed out that many rumors have been spread (especially in 1973-76) about workers joining terrorists or Communists to attack the country, yet the facts show clearly that, even during crises, although many strikes were called and feelings were strongly expressed, there were no violent incidents.

Strategies of Workers, Owners and Government

In Somkiad's opinion, the basic workers' strategy that everyone in the workers' milieu agrees on is to expand the basic organizations which will guarantee the democratic rights and interests in economics and politics of both the workers themselves and the people in general--the labor unions.

While the workers move in this direction, the employers have answering tactics which take many forms but all aim to obstruct the birth of new unions.

If they are unable to achieve this, they use methods to break unions down, reduce their role and weaken them, sowing dissension in union ranks to reach the goal of dissolving them altogether. Somkiad has uncovered a theoretical paper for employers entitled "Techniques for Attacking Labor Federations," by Mom-ratchawong Damrongdet Suksawad, which was presented to a seminar for administrative personnel at the Faculty of Political Science at Chulalongkorn University last year. The aim of the seminar was precisely to combat and destroy the coming together of workers in unions.

Somkiad expects that the class struggle between capitalists and workers will certainly become sharper than ever during the Bangkok bicentennial year.

In the middle of this sharp struggle, Somkiad sees the government, particularly the Labor Department, conducting itself more as the representative of the employers than of the workers. He maintains that the attitude of high officials in the Labor Department that "The employer is the one who gives, the employee the one who receives," amounts to pushing aside the workers' standing making outright beggars of them.

He concludes finally that the struggle between classes (employers and employees) in this round does not have an impartial referee. In the conduct of negotiations there is nothing but friendship between the capitalists and the state apparatus, joining together to take advantage of the workers. This is the situation in the Bangkok bicentennial year!

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LABOR LEADER DISCUSSES MEMBERSHIP, REJECTS POLITICAL ROLE

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 2 May 82 pp 36-37

[Interview with Phaisan Thawachayanand, Head of the Employees Labor Organization of Thailand by staff of the S.S.S.; date and place not specified]

[Text] In Thai labor union circles Mr Phaisan Thawachayanand, of the Bangkok Electrical Workers Union, can be considered a worker who holds firmly to the principles of unionism. This interview was made by the staff of the newsletter S.S.S., of the Union for the People's Rights of Freedom (Sahaphap phuea Sithi Seriphap khorng Prachachon) when that union arranged a discussion on "The Chosen Path of the Thai Worker." MATICHON WEEKLY thinks it contains much valuable information and opinion and therefore reprints it, in shortened and re-arranged form.

Question: How many workers are there at present?

Answer: Two years ago the Labor Department announced a figure of about 4,500,000 people, with an annual increase of about 800,000. So we estimate that Thailand now has at least 6,000,000 workers. This includes only 110,000 people in all 74 of the state enterprises. The rest are in the private sector.

Question: How are the workers distributed throughout the country?

Answer: The majority are clustered around Bangkok and the nearby provinces, such as Nonthaburi, Pathumthani, Ayutthaya, Samut Sakhon, Samut Prakan and Nakhon Pathom, and in the leading provinces of the various regions, such as Phuket, Phangga, Ranong, Khorat, Khonkaen, Chiangmai, Phitsanuloke, Uttaradit.

Question: How many unions are there?

Answer: There are now more than 380 registered, but only 320 or so that are really functioning. Besides these, there are some that have collapsed and some that employers have toppled.

Question: What are the main problems that Thai workers are now facing?

Answer: The most important of all is that income isn't keeping up with outgo. Goods are dear, wages are cheap. Benefits are inadequate. There is no job security and no security for the future. Job safety and work environment are very bad. Legal rights to make demands are impeded and interfered with, e.g., the right to form labor unions. Besides all this, workers also suffer oppression from employers and state officials. The final problem is divisiveness among labor leaders.

Question: Please talk in detail about divisions among labor leaders.

Answer: It is a matter of cooperation among workers who are not united. First of all, most workers have no labor unions yet. Most of us workers still don't understand the rights that the laws give us. Next, in all the groups that have been set up there is splitting into factions according to the ideas of each person and each clique. One lot, for example, submits that to solve the problems of the workers it will be necessary to solve the problems of the political system, while another bunch maintains that the workers are not yet ready (for politics). In fact there is no real difference between these two lines of thought. Each side thinks it will find a way to a better life for its brother workers, that's all, and it is to be hoped that they will find one. But this is not said. So they lack strength to cooperate and fight for the interests of the workers. And besides the issue of lines of thought, some leaders and groups have been infiltrated by outsiders undermining the unity of the labor movement.

Question: We know that new labor unions are now facing severe problems from an employers' drive to attack unions.

Answer: This is a pressing problem that shakes the morale of workers very much. The employers should not block the employees' negotiating path. If they do, they'll leave the employees with no choice but to fight like cornered dogs. So far, whether the employers have negotiated or not, they've been holding back the employees by kicking and stalling, dragging negotiations out. Labor Department officials must help with this problem to give justice to the employees.

Question: What ideas do you yourself have for solutions to all the problems you've mentioned?

Answer: We must start by solving the problem of unity. Workers must unite and struggle together for the rightful interests of their brother workers. And all sides must cooperate to demolish the barriers between them. Bargaining is a matter of using power to press the other side to yield. Unity itself gives rise to power. If the Thai labor movement continues without unity as it is today, it is bound to fail at everything it tries.

If our movement can achieve unity, our next step will be to set up a central workers' organization, with officials responsible for supervising the committee-men who are elected by the workers nationally. Besides these, the central organization will also have to hire experts in various fields to help out as advisors and consultants, because the employers have such experienced advisors now that the employees can't keep up with them and suffer an added handicap.

Question: Isn't there already a central organization, the National Labor Council?

Answer: That council is only one element on the scene. It hasn't yet been accepted by all the workers. The Labor Council at all events has a chance to develop to that point (of being accepted by all the workers) but it must get its members and committeemen to have more discipline than they have now.

Question: How will the central organization be used in the struggle for the workers' interests?

Answer: We should use all methods, both discussions and bargaining, which in the first instance should be the duty of the labor unions or federations. The central organization of labor council will act at higher levels, such as proposing changes in the labor laws, which still have many gaps, and finding experts to advise the unions, the labor federations, and workers who have difficulties of any kind. We must understand that the role of the council cannot be to conduct negotiations which the unions can handle for themselves. We must not ride out on elephants to catch grasshoppers. Many people don't yet understand this.

Where the labor council can help a lot is in encouraging leaders in each factory who are knowledgeable about labor federations to set up labor unions as their next step.

Question: What do you think about some labor leaders setting up the Democratic Labor Party?

Answer: It is their right to do this. We respect personal rights and freedoms. Anyone who wants to do something may do it, we have no objection.

Question: Do you think you will join the Democratic Labor Party?

Answer: I myself am not ready to become a politician, even though I fully agree with their understanding that the problems of the workers, or of all our suffering brothers, can only be solved by political means. That I do not go and join them is not because I oppose them, but because I am not skillful in this area. At this time I want to work first on things that will help awaken the workers to their rights and cause them to form unions to protect their interests.

Question: What do you think of the way some labor leaders are negotiating softly with the employers, asking them to sympathize with the workers and give them some share in the profits?

Answer: This is one means that can be tried. If the employers are willing to hear the troubles of the employees and to pay fair wages out of simple goodness, this is a very fine thing.

Question: Can this method solve the problems of today's workers?

Answer: It will be hard to do. This method will work only in certain kinds of industries, where the owners have profits big enough to share some of them. And the managers in these industries must understand troubles and be big-hearted enough too. This sort of industry is very hard to find. For the most part, owners aren't willing to give the workers anything easily.

Question: What is your opinion of struggle in the manner of the Polish workers' Solidarity movement?

Answer: I think there are many differences in social conditions between Poland and Thailand. In Poland the great internal power of the dictatorial Communist Party of Poland bears down very hard. Moreover, Solidarity has received quite a lot of support from the countries of the Free World. Thus the co-operation of workers in Poland is very firm. This is not in line with conditions in Thai society.

Question: What sort of path do you think the Thai workers' struggle should follow?

Answer: I think we should use every method as long as it is in the workers' interest. Whoever thinks something should be done, let him do it all the way, so long as we are not kicking one another in the shins. Best of all would be coordinated work in a united manner. If we can do this, I firmly believe that we will certainly be able to raise the condition of the workers.

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LABOR LEADERS' ALLIANCES DESCRIBED

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 2 May 82 pp 5-6

[Text] "The workers are united now. The dream is coming true." These encouraging workers' works boldly call on all laborers to come together in the national Labor Day celebrations this year. The celebrations are being organized by three labor councils and are an annual event.

If we turn to look at the development of the Thai labor movement in our community, there have been changes in various areas. Has anything happened that would make the workers stand up and cheer? No matter whether concerning job security, labor law, employment conditions or benefits, we may say that laborers' problems haven't eased at all and have only worsened. Socio-economic and political conditions have reached the point where Thai labor problems have spilled over into foreign countries, and dozens of Thai have lost their lives.

Rapid growth in the urban labor force has led to a large increase in quantity in labor circles, but very little change in quality. Few workers are able to grasp political changes and also to keep their worker's consciousness.

One labor leader compares the Thai labor movement to a retarded child whose body is grown but whose brain is tiny, who lacks common sense to deal with the problems that come up around him. In this situation the chance comes up for groups of opportunists to seek their own gain while injuring the labor movement, causing workers to break up into opposing factions which are independent in their directions and competing in their ideas. This causes internal trouble in the Thai labor movement and costs it much of its bargaining power.

The groups of leaders with roles in labor circles who we can see clearly are the backers of Sawad Lukdod and the Labor Union Federation of State Enterprises, which backs Phaisan Thawachayanand. The struggle between the two is gradually developing from the labor union and council level to the national level.

Much discussed at present is the internal Thai workers' ideological struggle over unionism and the struggle at the level of political parties. Each has its judgments as to whether particular events are shaking the strength of the labor movement or not. Whether they make the workers more firm or harm them, causing them to step back and fall into the canals, remains to be seen.

Sawad's group declares the line of the Thai workers clearly to be a struggle at the level of political parties, i.e., of the Democratic Labor Party, which Sawad directs, while Prasert Sapsunthorn, former committeeman of the Communist Party of Thailand guides his thought from behind the scenes. For a democratic revolution, here would be a party in which workers would be an important element in mobilizing masses of people.

Sawad opposes labor unionism because, he says, under a political dictatorship, unionism is not permitted to achieve any success at all in its struggle for the demands of the laborers. A method that can work is to enter the struggle and demand rights in the political arena by establishing a workers' party and seizing a base. Mobilizing the masses is that base. As for moving the Parliament, that comes next.

Thanks to Sawad's position as Secretary of the Thai Council of Workers and Workers' Organizations, he is considered well able to mobilize and to enlarge the democratic revolutionary line of his labor party. When he gives seminars to labor unions, he is able to draw the workers into his party as members.

In any event, Sawad and Ahmad have close ties with Prasert Sapsunthorn, having all been "democracy soldiers" together and even continuing so still. This fact arouses suspicion among workers, who wonder whether Sawad and Ahmad are drawing them into the service of some political faction to obtain some special end.

"We learned a lesson during the rebellion of 1-3 April last year. At that time we were drawn completely into the rebel faction. You remember, don't you? The policies that the rebels announced were all those of Professor Prasert, so how could we have faith in them?," news reports quoted.

At the same time, they reveal that even now the Sawad group is taking a position close to that of General Athit, leading supporter of the Ph.B.Th.B. (?) and of General Sayyud Kerdpol, military commander in chief. Their hope is that if a political change comes, their line on democratic revolution may be put into practice.

News sources state that Sawad tried to prop up Gen Athit by drawing him in to take part in settling a strike by Maekhong workers. At that time Gen Athit promised to help the workers achieve their demands. But it appears that so far the employers still refuse to act according to the conditions agreed upon. This is a situation which may soon explode, together with the problems of the tobacco workers and at Thai Plywood, which bear close watching.

"Even parties like Gen Kriangsak Chamanand's party are in contact with Sawad's group, which includes Ahmad and Sunthorn, as well as Netr. He is the glue that keeps the other two on as directors of the Thai Workers Foundation. Mr Kriangsak will soon dig into his pocket for hundreds of thousands (of baht) to cultivate labor unions at the regional level," sources say.

While Phaisan's state enterprises labor unions are rather decisively collecting themselves and are taking a unionist line, Sawad's group is well aware of the strength of these opponents, whom they will have to meet in many rounds of the

Thai labor movement fight. In this situation Ahmad's side is setting up a Federation of Transport Workers together with Sunthorn Kaewnetr, Wichian Sriwichian and Narong Kochirapan, because if they should slip off the stage of the Labor Council, who can say but what a new labor council might be formed.

According to the latest reports, Ahmad has set up another group of labor unions in state enterprises, consisting of workers in savings banks, railroads, KhSMK.(?), rubber plantations, waterworks, the Express Transport Organization, communications, highways, tobacco, petroleum, etc. A committee from among these has been set up to study their problems.

However, some people have remarked that these two new labor councils are not a difficult matter from any standpoint. If Sawad should ever capture both of them, it will be on condition that Sanan Wongsuthi is already tottering in the eyes of the workers. As for the Free Labor Council under Bunrawd Phuengthat, it has only a few locals and could be taken over at any time.

What road will the workers take? Who will come and who will go? This is a matter that workers will look at closely and then decide for themselves. Whether they will draw back and fall into a trap or go forward may be a matter in which they must help and support one another.

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THAILAND

CENSUS DATA: POPULATION INCREASE REPORTED

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 30 Apr 82 p 2

[Text] Results have been announced from the 1980 census of population and k.h. (?) Thailand has 44.2 million people, more women than men, an increase of nearly 10 million since the last census.

Mr Amphorn Arungrangsi, Secretary of the National Statistical Office, disclosed that the census was conducted on 1-25 April 1980. This was the third census of population and the second census of k.h. The National Statistical Office has been making censuses every 10 years since 1960. A summary of the major results follows.

As of 1 April 1980, as far as could be counted, there were 8,422,000 households in the Kingdom, with a total of 44,278,000 persons, 22,008,000 males and 22,070,000 females (sic. Total does not tally--Tr.). This is an increase since the 1970 census of 9,881,000.

The census shows that the population is distributed regionally as follows: the Central region has about 32 percent, the Northeast about 35 percent, the North about 20 percent, and the South about 13 percent.

The average size of all households is about 5.3 people, compared to 5.7 in 1970, a decrease of about 7 percent. Broken down by region, average sizes are: metropolitan Bangkok 5.2 persons, Central region 5.1, Northeast 5.7, North 4.8, and South 5.2.

Analyzing the population by age and sex, we find that about 38 percent are children under 15 years old, and that the ratio of females to males is about 99 to 100.

Of children 11 years old and older, about 79 percent have completed 4 or more years of education. Broken down by region, the figures are: Metropolitan Bangkok 86 percent, Central region 80 percent, Northeast 89 percent, North 72 percent, and South 71 percent.

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EDITORIAL CITES CRONYISM OVER SUTSAI RETENTION AT ETO

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 29 Apr 82 p 4

[Text] When Mr Wira Musikphongs, Deputy Minister of Communications, first announced a cutback in administration at the Express Transport Organization (ETO), not a few people supposed that this cutback would have real meaning for development. At the very least, ETO board chairman Maj Gen Sutsai Hatsadin would be one of those to be cut back. But when the results of a Cabinet meeting appeared and Gen Sutsai still clung firmly to his ETO chairman's seat, everyone began to wonder whether the announced "cutback" really had any meaning at all.

Although it was announced that ETO had lost money because of fuel problems and American troop withdrawals, which were purely external factors, the managers did not mention their own inadequate management and planning. Moreover, since a gradual reshuffling of junior managers has taken place, there have been reports from certain channels that instead of ETO receiving parcels directly, another organization has been shipping them for the private profit of the managers rather than for the account of the collective organization. The Cabinet has had no reports of these doings, and probably even the prime minister has not been told the truth.

The question on everyone's mind is why Gen Sutsai, who does not appear to have any special abilities, is nevertheless able to cling firmly to his seat as head of ETO. Gen Sutsai should really have been a target of the cutback, but he turns out to be Mr Wira's knife instead. The object of the impending threat turns out to be rather the blade, one which has no real meaning whatsoever. Some sources indicate that Gen Sutsai was not cut because he was as a captain a fellow student of the prime minister, Gen Prem Tinsulanond, and emphatic word was received that his feelings should be preserved, since he had just been relieved of a Cabinet post.

There have long been those who have said that although this prime minister claims his government is national, those he gathers around him are all men from the same region, soldiers from the same units, students from the same schools, and that no matter how poorly these people do their work or what damage they cause, the prime minister won't dare to hurt their feelings. People never believed these rumors before and considered them unfair slanders, but in the case of Gen Sutsai, an old school friend of Gen Prem, if the grounds for keeping his position is merely an old friendship, then it is most worrisome for the future of the nation.

EX-CPT LEADER NOTES LEADERSHIP FACTIONS

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 18 Apr 82 pp 5-6

[Text] The column "News Filter" in a magazine said "...The story about the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) that broke last week was that it has changed secretaries. They say that the secretary's close friend Udom Sisuwan has gone up to replace him...."

The same column in another edition said "...The latest reports about the Fourth Convention of the CPT indicate that there was a meeting of part of the Central Committee, or what is called a "big circle" meeting, less than two months ago in Kunming, with Udom chosen to be the new Secretary. As for other decisions and the list of those who took part, details are not given...."

When there are news items about the Secretary and members of the Political Department, they mention warmly Wirat Angthaworn, Damri Ruengsutham, Thong Chaemsri, Udom Sisuwan, Prasit Taphianthorng, and Adsani Phonchantr, among others.

Of these, there is news that Wirat Angthaworn is still in China, even though reports in columns like "News Filter" say he has come back to Thailand by way of Burma. Those who are inside the country, then, are Thong, Udom, Adsani, Damri, and Prasit.

It is speculated that Thong, Udom, Adsani and Prasit are in the combat zone. As for Damri, he has been arrested and detained at the Police Sergeants' School in Bangkok.

Not long ago a special reporter from MATICHON accompanied Mr Thorngpai Thorngpao and relatives of Mr Damri on a visit to him and discussed many problems with him. Since this discussion contains some details of the Fourth Convention of the CPT, MATICHON offers its readers a different angle, one from a member of the Political Department of the CPT.

Mr Damri said about the convention, "It has to take place, but I'm not involved in how or where. I'm not in a position to give any information about it." He also said, "The first convention met in Bangkok in 1942, the second in Bangkok in 1952, and the third also in Bangkok in 1961."

As for the story that the Central Committee has met in Kunming, China, Mr Damri thinks "This probably couldn't happen, because it's hard to travel off to meet outside the country. All the meetings up to now have been in Thailand, they've never been abroad." About the news that the convention has already met and has chosen Mr Udom Sisuwan as Secretary, Mr Damri commented, "I don't know, but I think it can't have happened." As to why then there was such information, he replied, "I don't know. Probably it's a false leak." What would be the point of the false leak? "This I don't know," Mr Damri said. "They have their own purposes." In Mr Damri's opinion, the leakers are in Internal Security unit of the government.

"In general, a Party convention must consider policy problems, investigate work, review various sorts of policy lines and problems in carrying on the work, and elect the Committee," Mr Damri said. "I believe that if the convention had met, or if it had already elected a Secretary, there would have been some announcement to let us know."

As to what changes in the CPT, if any, would result if Mr Udom were elected Secretary, Mr Damri's opinion is "There wouldn't really be any, because charges must follow decisions and accord with the policy line that the Committee has set."

Concerning the news that factions had arisen within the CPT and that factions led by Wirat, Thong and Damri were contending for power, Mr Damri said, "This couldn't happen, because the CPT has discipline, order and solid principles. There may be differences of opinion, but no matter what happens, each of us has almost identical principles and methods. Therefore talking about factions and what-not is just playing games, setting false leaks and then citing them as evidence."

On the story that Mr Damri was caught because he was betrayed by Mr Wirat's group, Mr Damri said, "This too is a false leak. The truth is that I came out to look for a way to deal with government officials, to seek a basic path for ending bloodshed and useless expenditures of the country's funds."

"Furthermore," he said, "if increased danger threatens from abroad, we will be glad to join with government officials who are concerned about it. They say that if we go on fighting with one another this way, the Thai nation will die out. I say that this has been a common anxiety for the Thai, but I would also say that Thailand will not die out easily. Ayutthaya (capital of the kingdom in 1350-1767) did not use up all the good people."

Mr Damri has been a senior cadre in the CPT since 1947, when he was arrested with Lieutenant Was Sunthornchamon, another senior cadre, a Chachoengsao. During the post-war era, it is believed that he has been in the Political Department since the third convention of the CPT. He was a "point man" and worked from the start in the combat zone in the North, particularly in Petchabun, Phitsanuloke and Loei, as the cadre responsible for military affairs. Since then he has been responsible for arrangements in place of Mr Wirat, who has been in China since 1979.

Mr Damri was arrested at [word illegible] Suratthan while traveling to make contacts and have discussions with non-Government representatives in early 1981. Military sources indicate that he worked in labor affairs and in the in-country United Front before he went to work in the hills.

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